The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1896.

The Week.

The results of the Democratic State conventions held on Wednesday of last week were rather queer. The Iowa Democrats went for the free coinage of silver by about two to one. Those of South Dakota, an adjoining State, went against it by about the same majority. On the Atlantic seaboard two conventions were held. That of South Carolina went for free coinage and that of New Hampshire against it. The battle in all four States was on this question exclusively. Endorsement of the Cleveland Administration or condemnation of it turned on the silver question.. Seventeen States have now held conventions and have elected 338 delegates, of whom 172 are either instructed or are known to be in favor of free coinage, and 166 against it. This majority of six for free coinage is likely to be increased and to become decisive, unless their opponents show plainly that they do not intend to be bound by such a decision. If they make it clearly understood that they cannot be drawn or driven into the policy of repudiation, and that the money needed for legitimate campaign expenses cannot be obtained, they may be able to prevent the adoption of such a policy; but without some determined action of this kind the Chicago convention will run upon a fatal rock. The party is worm-eaten by Populism. Tillman, Altgeld, Boies, Morgan, Harris, and Bryan are Populists, with hardly any disguise. If they control the convention, the party may as well haul down its own flag and hoist that of Weaver and Peffer in its place.

The organ of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia says that a convention will meet at Detroit this week whose object will be to "take the tariff question out of politics," and that it will be asked to adopt as a leading principle that "the tariff levied on all goods from any foreign country into the United States shall in all cases be an amount fully equal to the difference in the cost of producing said goods in any foreign country and the cost of producing such goods in the United States." The *Manufacturer* finds several objections to this plan, notwithstanding the fact that it is in accord with the last national Republican platform, which says that "on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between *wages* abroad and at home." The only difference between the platform and the Detroit proposal is in the use of the words "cost of producing" instead of "wages." The *Manufacturer* points out the fact, often referred to by the wicked free-traders, that the cost of producing particular goods varies in different places in this country, and wants to know whether the highest cost shall be taken as the basis of the tariff, and, if so, how the tariff-makers are to ascertain which manufacturer's costs are the highest. We would venture to add that it is very easy for a manufacturer to add to his cost of production, and that any one dissatisfied with the tariff could raise his expenses to any desired figure. Again, the *Manufacturer* wants to know how we could learn what the foreigner's cost of production is. "What if he should make a false report?" it asks. Of course our people would never make false reports on such a question, not even our suffering sugar-refiners. How would you prevent undervaluation? it asks. Indeed, the objections to this plan are too numerous to mention, the most formidable of all being the fact that one Congress cannot bind future ones to let the tariff question alone. In other words, the freedom of the people to deal with this question from time to time cannot be impaired. We have had attempts before this time to commit Congress to a particular tariff policy, and their complete failure, as, for example, in 1883, when Congress appointed a commission, composed of the most noted protectionists in the land, to frame a tariff, and then rejected their bill before it was three months old.

The imbecility of the Senate of the United States as now constituted was shown up to some purpose by Senator Sherman in debate last week. Mr. Sherman has been himself a glaring illustration of this during a large part of the present session, but that fact detracts nothing from his picture of the general situation. The subject under discussion was an amendment to the fortification bill offered by Senator Gorman, providing for the issue of certificates of indebtedness to run three years and drawing 3 per cent. interest, to meet the deficiencies of revenue caused by this and other appropriations of the present Congress. Mr. Sherman objected to an increase of the public debt in time of peace, and insisted that it was the duty of Congress to vote additional taxes to meet the additional expenditures. He referred to the Dingley bill that had passed the House and had been killed in the Senate by the substitution of a free-silver amendment. The Dingley bill, he said, did not meet his entire approval. It did not go far enough. If it had passed, there would probably still be a deficiency. He would vote for a tax on tea or on coffee or on anything to get the Government out of the mire in which it was embedded. He would "take the last shirt off the backs of the people of the United States rather than violate the public faith of the Government." He insisted that the Senate should not increase appropriations without providing the money to meet them, and he added:

> "When appropriation bills come to us from the House of Representatives, they are uniformly increased here, and large additions are made to them in many details. We have no right to do this. We have no right to impose obligations on the people of the United States unless we also impose upon them the burden of taxation so as to meet those obligations."

He hoped that the President would refuse to spend a dollar beyond the current receipts of the Government. If he were himself President, he would disregard all appropriations of Congress that were in excess of the regular income.

There is a difficulty in the way of applying this remedy. It would be easy for a President to say: "I have no money to meet this appropriation. The Treasury is empty; fill it and I will pay your bills." But such is not the case. By reason of a law passed while Mr. Sherman was Secretary of the Treasury, and at his instance, the greenbacks which have been redeemed are considered, not as notes paid and *functi officio*, but as Government assets, and the law expressly requires that they be paid out again. It does not prescribe any limit of time within which they must be paid, but it means obviously that they cannot be hoarded and kept back when there are lawful appropriations of Congress awaiting payment. There is now more than $100,000,000 of greenbacks in the Treasury which have been redeemed and which the law says shall be paid out again. Mr. Sherman ought to have gone one step farther and offered a bill to retire and cancel these redeemed notes and all others received in the Treasury by the same process. Such a measure would be helpful in many ways. Such a measure would not only prevent Congress from spending more money than it provides taxes for, but it would uplift public and private credit by giving assurance that a false system of finance had been definitively abandoned.

Editorially the *Tribune* continues to be in a state of great hilarity over the anxiety of business men to know what kind of a President the Republicans are going to elect. The joke is really too killing. You dear distressed bankers and merchants and investors, it expostulates with shaking sides, don't you see how mirth-provoking you are? But its news columns sponge out every word of its editorial page. It has to report "crazy Populist finance" as "likely to pass in the Senate," has to record the votes of twelve Republican Senators in favor of a bill to break down the only law which now stands between us and a 50-cent dollar, and to print the passion-

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ate cry of Senator Sherman, thanking God that the President of the United States, no matter what Senate or House might do, would veto any such legislation. How truly diverting it is, under these circumstances, with the threats of such repudiating measures hanging over the country, with the certainty that there will be an enormous crop of them in the next Congress—what a capital joke it is that men should want some assurance that the next President will stand as firmly against the lunatics as the present one does! Every day, in fact, makes it more and more necessary that the next President should be known of all men to be of strong convictions and unflinching courage on every financial question; yet every day makes it more and more certain that the man whom the Republicans are "sure to elect" has neither convictions nor courage. "Crazy Populist Finance"—but no word from McKinley. Repudiation and panic predicted even by Lodge—but McKinley nobly dumb. That is the situation which gives such exquisite point to the *Tribune's* quips.

Some people are wondering at the strange flagging of interest in Cuba on the part of Congress, and are attributing it to unworthy motives. They say the whole excitement of two months ago was artificial and insincere, a mere bit of spread-eagleism, and ask, if Congressmen were so dead in earnest, why they have not kept the welkin a-ringing. But the real reason for the sudden chilling of enthusiasm has been strangely overlooked. The Cuban patriots have issued bonds, have asked the American people to subscribe to them as "a practical manifestation of sympathy," but have committed the enormous, the incredible blunder of making these bonds payable in *gold*. This shows an incomprehensible blindness to American sensitiveness. The American people is furiously determined to have the best money in the world, glorious as the flag, untarnished as the national honor, sacred, miraculous, paradisiacal money—but it is not gold. We know what to think of any man or nation that says gold. No friend of the people or of liberty will ever utter that word. The Cubans should have made their bonds payable in the mystic, wonderful McKinley money. Their choice of gold bonds makes all honest Americans and a silver Congress doubt if they are really patriots at all.

The *Horsa* filibustering case was decided at Washington on Monday, and the decision is not primarily against the Cubans nor in favor of Spain. It is simply an interpretation and application of municipal law—known as the neutrality laws. Those laws are meant for the protection of our own government and people. They do not relate, by direct intent, to our duty under international law, but are meant to prevent our citizens, or aliens under our jurisdiction, from involving us in war with other countries. Such acts as those of which the captain of the *Horsa* was confessedly guilty tend inevitably to embroil us in war if we permit them, and it is therefore of great importance that our highest court has declared them illegal and punishable. Otherwise, the power of declaring war would be lodged, not in the hands of President and Congress, but in those of filibusters. The principal point of the decision is the clear definition of what is meant, in the neutrality laws, by "a military expedition." The lower courts have held conflicting opinions, but now, of course, will be bound by the definition of the Supreme Court, which undoubtedly would cover the case of the men recently tried before Judge Brown in this city and acquitted.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the sugar-bounty cases, while it does not touch the question of the constitutionality of bounties, reverses the decision of Mr. Bowler, the Comptroller of the Treasury, and requires the payment of the money appropriated by Congress. The court holds that if Congress has made promises and induced people to incur expense which they would not otherwise have incurred, and has then actually appropriated the money to indemnify the parties, the payment cannot be stopped by an administrative officer on the ground of unconstitutionality. The Government has a right to make good a loss which private parties have incurred in good faith, relying on its promises; and this independently of the constitutionality of bounties. This was the governing consideration of the Congress that made the appropriation in question—the same Congress that passed the Wilson bill. The Government often makes appropriations to indemnify individuals who have done or suffered acts in reliance on its good faith, although in a legal point of view the payment is equivalent to a gratuity. In other words, the practice of equity is not denied to the Government by the Constitution. It would be a very queer sort of government if the case were otherwise. It would be a very odd state of things if an inferior officer of the Treasury could set up his opinions and rulings against the deliberate acts of Congress and the President. Although the question of the constitutionality of bounties *per se* was not decided, the drift of the decision is toward the affirmance of it—that is, toward affirming the power of Congress to do what it pleases with the public money. Apparently the remedy for profligate, or mistaken, or dishonest appropriations is not in the courts, but in the people. This view is not in conflict with other decisions of the court in cases where State legislatures are restrained from voting bounties to private individuals by provisions in the State constitutions.

The Supreme Court at Washington rendered a decision of much importance on May 19, in the case of the Illinois Central Railroad, Plaintiff in Error, vs. the State of Illinois. The decision is one relating to interstate commerce, and it denies the right of a State to detain unnecessarily, or turn out of it course, a train of cars destined to another State as part of a through line. The bridge of the Illinois Central across the Ohio River is three and a half miles north and east of the Cairo station. It was built at that place many years ago, the nature of the ground designating it as the most advantageous for the purpose. The through trains from Chicago to New Orleans stop at the junction three and a half miles from Cairo, and run a special car and locomotive to that city for the conveyance of passengers and baggage. The city sought to compel the company to run the through trains to the Cairo station, which would require an unnecessary journey of seven miles, and the State Supreme Court sustained this contention, under a law of Illinois which says that "all regular passenger trains shall stop a sufficient length of time at the railroad stations of county seats to receive and let off passengers with safety"; Cairo being a county seat. The counsel for the company, Judge Fentress, submitted a very remarkable brief of ninety-six pages, in which the whole question of the constitutional control by Congress of commerce "among the several States" was argued. He maintained that this power was necessarily exclusive, that such commerce was indivisible, that the railroad in question had authority from Congress and the State of Illinois to form a continuous line of communication with other States, and that it could not be compelled, under the police power of the State, to turn aside from its established through line to run to a county seat for which it provided adequate means of transportation for passengers and baggage. All these contentions were sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in an opinion delivered by Justice Gray. The full opinion has not been published. There was no dissenting opinion.

Mr. Lyman, doubtless at Platt's instigation, deceived Gov. Morton into believing that there was not time to examine the liquor agents competitively, under the Raines bill, and that, if examined at all, they must be examined simply non-competitively, and he appointed for this purpose, out of his own head, a heterogeneous crowd of politicians—of course, like all this class, mostly ignorant and shiftless, and often dissolute. This was done in spite of the constitutional provision that the examinations must be competitive, "in so far as practicable." There was no reason in the world for thinking that the examination of these people was not practicable. The non-competitive examination was simply an evasion of the fundamental law, at which Gov. Morton ought not to

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have connived. But the Lyman appointees cannot pass even the non-competitive pass examination. Fourteen out of the twenty-seven were rejected on Friday at Albany, for simple ignorance. One of them was a brother of "Jake" Worth, the Brooklyn Boss, and one was E. S. Mellen, the Brooklyn auditor. There is an auditor for you! We wonder what such a man was to audit. None of these rejected fellows can present themselves again for a year. So no time at all has been saved; the Governor, Lyman, and Platt have brought discredit on themselves, and the true character of the creatures whom they were trying to quarter on the public treasury has been revealed.

The main value of such occurrences lies, after all, in the fact that they slowly diffuse through the barrooms, gambling-houses, and other haunts of vice the novel idea that public offices are established for the benefit of the people, and are not, in the eye of the law, rewards or "plums" for working "Boys," or for ne'er-do-weels or drunken fellows or defaulters. This idea makes slow progress, but every such examination as has taken place at Albany helps to spread it. The Boys curse and fume, and want to be "patriotic" and go to war with somebody, but they will gradually cease to look on the public service as a refuge or almshouse. Some time ago a superintendent of the mint in San Francisco, La Grange by name, proved so inefficient as to let his chief subordinate pick and steal without discovery, and had himself to resign in consequence. Instead of turning his attention to some honest business, with which he was familiar, on the Pacific Coast, he started for New York, and on his arrival here had no difficulty in getting an eminent mint man, Mr. Leech, to recommend him to the Mayor as a Fire Commissioner. For what? Because he was familiar with the business of extinguishing fires? Because he enjoyed the confidence of the fire-insurance companies? Because he was an old resident of the city and familiar with its wants? Not a bit of it. Simply because he "was a brave soldier with a splendid record."

Ecclesiastical politics has had little chance to catch the eye of the public, fully intent as that eye is upon the worldly article, yet the various church conventions recently in session have, as usual, shown more than once that they could teach the politicians not a few tricks of their own trade. The Presbyterians elected their Moderator at Saratoga on Thursday by as pretty a mixing of oil and water as is often seen in gatherings of the ungodly—a "combine" of the sound and the unsound in the faith cutting out the prize from under the very guns of the conservatives. The latter are dolorously predicting a reopening of the Briggs controversy, with all the renewal of grief which that implies; but a weary public will hope for better things. Out in Cleveland the Methodist balloting for bishops had many of the characteristics of profane nominating conventions. There were dark horses, "throwing" of votes, tantalizing running up of one candidate within sight of the promised land, only to drop him hard on the next ballot, and so forth. The action of this Methodist Conference on the subject of forbidden amusements was instructive. At present the discipline forbids card-playing, dancing, theatre-going, and other sins of the kind. Several city ministers admitted that these prohibitions were a dead letter, and tended, so far as they were known, to alienate young people from the church. But still, it was powerfully argued, we cannot afford to let down our standards, or to appear to; and even if we cannot enforce the discipline, do not let us, in the name of consistency, alter it an iota. This view carried the day by a large majority, and the dead-letter laws remain dead but inviolate.

The customary return, under the corrupt-practices act, has been published in Great Britain, showing all expenses which were incurred in the Parliamentary election of 1895, and the exhibit furnishes many interesting facts for American consideration. In the first place, it is to be noted that the total expenditure falls more than a third short of the maximum total allowed by the law. There were 1,181 candidates, and the law permitted them to spend £1,025,207. They actually spent only £617,996, or but a little more than three-fifths. This has been the case in nearly or quite every election which has been held during the twenty-four years since the law was enacted, though previous to its enactment it was quite generally thought that the maximum had been made too low. The average expenditure was about £546 for each candidate, or less than $2,700, and about three shillings and eight pence, or 66 cents, for each vote polled. Of course, the total of expenditures for individual candidates varies according to the size of the constituency. The largest amount permitted in any district does not exceed $6,000, which is a mere trifle compared with what is spent in many American districts. Mr. Lodge made a return in Massachusetts after the election in 1892 in which he admitted an expenditure of $12,000. In only four of the ten American laws are limits placed to expenditures—those of California, Missouri, Minnesota, and Ohio—and in none of these States is the law enforced with the rigor characteristic of Great Britain.

The chief item of expenditure in the British returns is invariably that for the printing of campaign literature, and it is an interesting fact that, with few exceptions, the candidate spending most for this purpose succeeded in the election. The amounts spent ranged from $420 to over $2,500, and in all cases were returned by items under the requirements of the law, the expenditures being entirely legitimate. The British voter is thus subjected to a tremendous "campaign of education," fully equal if not superior to that of our most exciting Presidential elections. Our principal items of expenditure, in those States in which returns are required, are for "flags," "banners," "torches," "uniforms," "bands," and "transparencies." All these uses of money are forbidden under the British act, and if a candidate were to return $2,000 as expended for "flags," as a Massachusetts candidate did, he would lose his seat. They were forbidden in England because bribery of voters was disguised beneath them, and there is little doubt that they are made to serve a like purpose here, for the $2,000 item in the Massachusetts return was part of a total expenditure of $11,000 in a single congressional district. Moreover they are not in the least "educational." When a man spends more to gain a seat in Congress than the entire salary of the office for its term, it is not unreasonable to suspect that he concealed under his flag item some expenditures which he would not care to make public. Some of our laws are nearly as strict in their other requirements as the British act, but none of them is enforced to the letter as that act is, for want of a vigilant and determined public sentiment behind the law.

The furious obstruction offered by the Irish in the Commons on Thursday night, when the agricultural-rating bill was in committee, may have been due to a desire to placate the Liberals, or may mean nothing more than the force of old habit. It is to be noted, however, as the Irish then found out, that the new rules of the House make the old kind of open instruction increasingly difficult if not impossible. The thing has now to be done with finer art. One must have the resources and appearance of burly honesty of Sir William Harcourt to be successful in debating and amending a measure out of time, in a way not to be called down by the Speaker. Mr. Lowther himself, now Tory Chairman of Committee, who brought the rebellious Irishmen to book on Thursday, is an adept in the art of obstruction within the rules, and gave some fine displays of it in the last Parliament when the home-rule bill was pending. Mr. Balfour, however, will be able to invoke closure more successfully than Mr. Gladstone was—at least if Speaker Peel's ruling is adopted by Speaker Gully. The former held that closure could but rarely and dubiously be applied by a ministry with a majority of only 40 behind it; a majority of 150 is entitled to a swifter putting of the main question. Still, even a majority of that size cannot "jam" things through in the Commons, and the agricultural bill will no doubt be a much longer time in passing than the Government anticipate.

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PLATFORMS.

THERE is a disposition among some people to minimize the importance of McKinley's silver record, in view of the fact that the platform on which he will stand will be made by others. He seeks to confirm this impression himself by declaring that the reason he does not speak about the currency is that he does not wish to forestall the platform, and his friends give us to understand he will be bound by the platform. We dislike to dispel pleasant illusions, but business men ought to understand that this reliance on the platform as a substitute for the man, or as a supplement to the man, has no foundation in the history of the instrument which passes under that name. The platform, in fact, has shared the fate of the whole nominating system. It has become an instrumentality for getting votes, with little or no reference to the real affairs of the country. It does not any longer foreshadow, in the least, the future policy of the party adopting it. It has sunk into the rank of pure, undiluted humbug. Let us give some illustrations of our meaning.

In 1872, the Republican platform denounced "repudiation of the public debt in any form or disguise as a national crime." When Congress met (it had a large Republican majority in 1874), it passed an inflation bill indefinitely postponing a return to specie payments. President Grant vetoed it.

In 1876, the Republican platform "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision, at the earliest practicable period, for the redemption of the United States notes in coin," and said that "commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit" demanded "a continuous and steady progress to specie payments."

In 1878–79, a bill to repeal the resumption act would have passed both houses of Congress if President Hayes had not made known that he would veto it.

In 1888, the Republican platform "favored the use of both gold and silver as money," and denounced silver demonetization, but nothing more. In 1890, without the least warning, the Sherman act, providing for the purchase of $54,000,000 worth of silver bullion a year, was passed by both houses, and President Harrison signed it.

In the same year the Republicans gave through their platform "uncompromising" adherence to the policy of protection, and said it must be maintained. But they proposed to reduce the revenue by the abolition of the tobacco tax, the tax on spirits used in the arts, and import duties on articles which could not be produced at home. If further reduction were necessary, they suggested the abolition also of the whole internal revenue. In 1890, Congress passed the McKinley bill, without any notice, the provisions of which were so monstrous that in 1892 the whole country rose against it and inflicted on its authors a crushing defeat.

In 1892, the Democratic convention denounced the McKinley bill and the Sherman silver act, and adopted a "straddle" plank regarding gold and silver. As soon as Congress met, it went to work to pass a seigniorage bill, which President Cleveland vetoed, and to prepare a free-coinage bill, which did not pass because it was known he would veto it; and without the smallest notice passed a rigid income-tax bill, aimed at people earning over $4,000 a year. All remonstrances were treated with contempt, or answered with the simple assertion that "it was sure to pass." The history of the efforts of the President to get the Sherman act repealed, the panic, and the scorn of Congress for Wall Street, in which the members were freely operating, and the judgment of the Supreme Court, are still fresh in the public memory.

It will be seen from all this that the platform is no longer a political programme which either party intends to follow. It is a manifesto issued for the purpose of getting votes at the election, and, after the election, does not receive the smallest attention. Another illustration of the uselessness of paying any attention to it was furnished by the Republican party in this State last year. Its platform might have been drawn by Mugwumps, for it promised nearly everything they demand, but the policy pursued by the Republican Legislature was almost an exact copy of that pursued by the Democratic Legislature under Croker, of which this very platform complained, more particularly in the matter of indifference to intelligent public opinion.

The platform on which McKinley will be nominated will probably be an ingenious attempt to deceive both the friends of gold and the friends of silver as to the policy to be pursued by the coming Administration. But even if it comes out in an apparently satisfactory manner for the gold standard, we warn the friends of sound money against supposing that it will afford any guarantee as to the legislation of Congress. It will not receive any notice whatever after election. It will be used to influence votes at the election, and there will be the end of it. If we had trusted to platforms since 1870, this country would now be a financial chaos. We have been saved by a succession of Presidents of strong character and measurable financial knowledge. The only exception was President Harrison, who was as weak as Sherman, and, like him, sought salvation for the country in dodges.

All the tendencies of American politics since the war show that our reliance in future must be substantially the same. Congress and the Legislatures are going rapidly down hill, and are likely to be worse before they are better. They are clearly incompetent to govern a great commercial country, and we must rely, until some change occurs, on putting vigorous men of known character and opinions in the Presidential chair, not to legislate, but to prevent mischief. A movement has been made to do away with the President as a source of help, and it is said McKinley is in it himself, by insisting that Congress must be allowed to settle the financial question itself, and that the Presidential veto must not be allowed to prevent the success of its schemes. Every one knows what this means. For such a programme a person of McKinley's character and instruction is just the man, and we warn business men to look out for it. In matters of finance, until the silver and paper crazes subside and national sanity is completely restored, the President must be our main reliance, but it must be a President whose opinions have always been on the side of rationality, and with whose firmness we and the whole world are familiar. Nothing in the present canvass is more ridiculous than the proposal that the business world should accept, in lieu of the candidate's own record, "certificates" of soundness from chance politicians and "bankers" of whom we never heard before. One would suppose the Presidential chair was a butler's place, and that anybody would do for it whom Smith, the leather man, or Jones, the exchange dealer, said was a good man. To be President of the United States a man ought to be as well known as Gladstone, or Bismarck, or Lincoln, or Seward. If any obscure body will do, why do not the managers advertise and sell the place to the person who promises most, as the Pretorian Guard used to sell the imperial purple?

TWO RAILROAD CASES.

THE Supreme Court at Washington recently disposed of two railroad cases of great importance, the first involving a novel attempt to make use of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to help on protection; the other involving the powers of the Commission generally.

In 1889 the Interstate Commerce Commission, of its own motion and without any hearing, made an order providing, among other things, that all imports shipped from abroad to any point in the United States should be taken "on the inland tariff." Subsequently the New York Board of Trade and Transportation complained that certain railroad companies were violating this order in the fact that, whereas they charged the regular rates on property delivered to them at New York, Philadelphia, and other ports for transportation to Chicago and other inland points, they charged much lower rates if similar property came to them from Europe on through bills of lading, to be carried first by steamships and then by rail. As a matter of fact, and as appears from the opinions of the judges, this is the universal custom with all the great railroads in the country; the ocean rates from Liverpool and other European ports, which are fixed entirely by competition, govern the whole question, and every American railroad taking such im-

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ports has to transport them at a much lower rate across this continent than it needs to do in the case of articles of domestic production. The railroad that does not do this loses the business.

The order consequently began to have very serious results. In the case of the Illinois Central it deprived that company (the Supreme Court says) "of a valuable part of its traffic (to say nothing of its necessary effect in increasing the charges to be finally paid by the consumers)"; the Pennsylvania Railroad was in no better plight, while it appears that competent evidence had been adduced that, if the order were to be generally enforced, "the result would be that it would effectually close every steamship line sailing to and from Baltimore and Philadelphia." The Texas and Pacific Railway, which forwards imports to San Francisco via New Orleans, determined to contest the matter, and, after a long fight, it has won a complete victory. The case is reported in volume 16 of the Supreme Court Reporter No. 22 (Texas and P. Ry. Co. vs. Interstate Commerce Commission).

The only clauses in the interstate-commerce act which could possibly justify such an interference with the business of the railroads are those which provide that all charges must be "reasonable and just"; that there must be no unjust discrimination in the case of similar services "under substantially similar circumstances and conditions"; that there shall not be any "undue or unreasonable preference or advantage" in any case; and that no more shall be charged "under substantially similar circumstances and conditions" for a shorter than for a longer haul over the same line in the same direction, "the shorter being within the longer distance." The case is so clear that, notwithstanding the dissent of Judges Harlan and Brown and Chief-Justice Fuller, we may probably consider the question settled for ever; the most remarkable thing about it is the way that the tariff was dragged into it. In fact, it looks very much as if the order had been promulgated for the express purpose of making a test case to get a decision that the interstate-commerce act was designed to reinforce the tariff and help keep out foreign manufactures.

If a railroad must charge the same on an article (imported to Chicago from Germany) between New York and Chicago as it does on every article of domestic manufacture sent from New York to Chicago, the cost of importation being by so much increased, in many cases, as already stated, the result would be a virtual prohibition of the import. This was the object of the Commission. If it costs a dollar a yard to deliver an article made in Germany to the purchaser in Chicago, while the same article costs a dollar and five cents manufactured in New York or in Philadelphia, it is clear that the article will be imported by the Chicago consumer from abroad; if the railroad rate on the imported article can be made prohibitive, then Chicago consumers will have to buy the domestic article. This, says the Commission, is protection reinforced by the interstate-commerce act. So it is, with a vengeance. But it is also the grossest discrimination against railroads and consumers, and thus, says the Supreme Court, the Commission "seems to create the very mischief which it was one of the objects of the act to remedy." Reinforcing protection it declares not to have been the object of the act.

The other case (Cincinnati, N. O. and T. P. Ry. vs. Interstate Commerce Com., 22 Sup. Ct. Reporter No. 700) is chiefly important because it lays down for the first time the principles as to railroad rates in general which the Supreme Court holds universally applicable. The case was one of unjust discrimination. It appeared that the railroad charged more for a shorter than a longer haul under similar circumstances and conditions. The Supreme Court, in upholding the decision of the Commission that this was improper, declared that, subject to the restrictions in the act, common carriers are free, as they always have been, "to make special contracts looking to the increase of their business, to classify their traffic, to adjust and apportion their rates so as to meet the necessities of commerce, and generally to manage their important interests upon the same principles which are regarded as sound and adopted in other trades and pursuits."

Taking these in connection with the other transportation cases which have come before the court in the last twenty years, it is evident that we have in the Commerce Commission a body clothed with no power to fix rates at discretion, but merely a semi-judicial board armed with special powers to prevent injustice where a plain case is made out by the facts proved. Its grotesque attempt to prohibit foreign commerce for the sake of protection, under the guise of an order prohibiting discrimination, has come to nothing, just as all previous attempts of every State commission to "run" the railroads have come to nothing. This case is also a curious illustration of the way in which, through the action of the courts, the very laws framed to curtail liberty often prove in the end a means of strengthening it. The interstate-commerce act, designed by many if not most of its framers to stop the railroads from managing their business in their own way, turns out, as it is explained by the courts, to be a weapon which the railroads can themselves use to prevent oppression of the whole community by the Commission.

THE INSPECTRIX.

Of the whole number of the inspectors of the public schools appointed by the Mayor of New York, under the new law, about a fifth are women, most of them being reappointments. Many of them are ladies well known in public charitable and philanthropic work, of different sorts. They serve without pay, hold office for five years, and their duties are to examine every school at least once a quarter, with regard to attendance, teaching, discipline, and also "cleanliness, safety, warming, ventilation, and comfort," and to report to the Board of Education any matter requiring attention.

This employment of ladies in the schools (and by ladies we mean not women conspicuous in fashionable life, but women who have been brought up in an atmosphere of intelligence and good breeding, who live in houses marked by cleanliness, order, and taste, whose associations are with people of the same sort, who show in the small field of their own households the capacity for good management of persons and property which is the key to all successful government), is of very recent growth, but we believe it has been, so far as tried, eminently successful. The former trustees did not like it for two reasons: first, because no man likes to have work committed to his care and discretion supervised by some one else, especially by a woman; and, second, because they know very well that the inspectrix was appointed because they themselves did the work badly. But the system of trustees who do not perform their trust, supervised by inspectors who have no control of them, has been swept away; the inspectors' duties are now very like those of the board of visitors which every well-managed college has, but the details covered are vastly more numerous.

In schools there are peculiar reasons why a woman is likely to do some of this work better than men, and why men really need their aid. Many of these will occur to any one who enters a public school even for the first time; half the children are girls, most of the teachers are themselves women, and these facts lead every day to questions on which a man has little or no knowledge, and as to which, in his own household, he is only too thankful to have the benefit of a woman's judgment. In fact, the most painful and distressing situation in domestic life in which a man can be placed is notoriously that of having suddenly thrust upon him, by the death or desertion of his wife, the sole management and education of a number of small children of both sexes. A public-school system with only men in charge would produce much the same kind of difficulty, but on a vast scale. The women teachers do not answer the purpose of inspectors, for they are part of the system to be inspected.

There is, moreover, one department of school administration which is peculiarly adapted for women's care, because it corresponds closely to what comes under their jurisdiction in their own households, and that is what may be called the housekeeping of the schools—the supervision of their comfort, cleanliness, and decency. No one who has not actually

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gone over a school in the poorer parts of the city has any idea of the depths of slovenliness to which this housekeeping has descended. Ring the bell, and a dirty janitor emerges in his shirt sleeves from his subterranean lair, squirting tobacco juice as he comes. He is evidently a shiftless hanger-on of some ward politician, who has found a quiet place for him here at the public crib. Examine the rooms, and you will find some so dark as to suggest inevitable injury to the children's eyes; look at the chairs, and you may find some of the wrong size for the desks, so that the children are forced to sit on them in great bodily discomfort; ask the explanation of a pool of water standing in the yard, you will be told that there has been a leak in the water-pipe for several months; look into the sanitary arrangements, and they will be found not sanitary. Everywhere there is that peculiar sort of untidiness, and mustiness, and slouch which is anathema to every good woman. The condition of these poorer school-houses before the coming of the inspectrix was a training in slovenliness and disorder for every unfortunate generation of scholars that went through them. Her work thus far has mainly been to look out for matters of this kind. There will never be a time when they will not need looking after, and they are quite as important as teaching.

For ourselves we could wish that the inspectrix might invade other spheres of activity hitherto exclusively reserved to man. There is not a public building in the city which would not be the better for a report from her. Every one knows what women have done for the interior conditions of the prisons and hospitals; every one knows that it was in great part through women's taking the matter up that an interest was aroused in clean streets, of which we are now reaping the benefit in Col. Waring's administration. Oh that there could be an inspectrix for the Tombs, and for the court-house, and for the city hall, and the registry of deeds, and the police courts. Of what use have the presentments of male grand juries proved? There is not a heeler employed in them but would be frightened if he knew his building was to be inspected by some of the ladies appointed on Wednesday week.

The shocking condition of our municipal housekeeping is partly owing to Tammany, but partly also to the fact that man, left to himself, is not an over-clean or orderly animal, or one that is fond of giving much attention to the details of comfort and cleanliness. He does not perceive the fact in his domestic life, because he has a domestic inspectrix who spends a large part of the day in looking after his house. In the management of public institutions he flatters himself he can get on without her. But it is a mistake.

It really looks as if in some fields the lady inspector might accomplish some of the work which we once fondly hoped the "gentleman" and "scholar" in politics would do. She has one great advantage over him, that she does not take up the work for a living, but because she has an interest in it for its own sake, and leisure to attend to it. Her function is merely to see and report and actually shame men into correcting abuses. She cannot be reduced to silence by taking away her salary, for she has none; she cannot be "read out of the party," because she does not belong to any. Her warnings must be listened to here as elsewhere.

"THE YELLOW TERROR."

THIS is the name given by a French economist, not to the fever or the literature of the color mentioned, but to the spectre of Japanese commercial competition. It is a bogy which has for some time been looming large before the timid eyes of bimetallists and protectionists. Their doctrines are for the most part supported by arguments *in terrorem*, and it is natural, therefore, that, finding the horrors of a scarcity of money failing them, and the awfulness of foreign goods given away losing its power over the imagination, they should cast about for a new raw-head-and-bloody-bones to frighten people with. They think they have found it in the growth of Japanese industry. In Parliament and Reichstag alike, in Congress and in party convention, bimetallists driven into a corner and protectionists put to their trumps always fall back on the Yellow Terror. The historic question, conclusive against the anti-slavery agitation, "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" has now to give way to the equally pertinent and unanswerable inquiry, "Do you want your daughter to play on a Japanese piano?"

The Colorado Republicans, for example, came out strong on Oriental competition. Free trade was ruining us, the gold standard was cutting all values in two, and if you didn't believe either assertion to be true, how were you going to get away from the deadly competition of "the Far East"? By jumbling three discordant propositions in one plank every doubter must be convinced. But facts are the most convincing things after all, and a long report by the British Vice-Consul at Tokio, Mr. Longford, which has just been published by the Foreign Office, and which sets forth at length the facts about Japanese industry and foreign commerce, is better worth studying than all the bimetallic orations and resolutions on the subject that were ever printed.

That Japan has greatly expanded her manufacturing and her export trade since 1872 is beyond question. The principal industry to exhibit a marked advance is the cotton manufacture. In 1888, Japan had 24 cotton factories with 114,000 spindles; last year she reckoned 58 factories and 883,000 spindles. On the cheaper grades of goods Japanese manufacturers are able to compete closely with British and American exporters in the Chinese and Indian markets. But even the miraculous Japanese have not yet learned of McKinley how to sell without buying. Their increased cotton-goods productions and exports have led directly to largely increased imports on that very account. The machinery to manufacture the goods and the ships to market them have been bought abroad. Moreover, the imports of raw cotton have risen enormously; from India alone Japan took 72,000,000 pounds of cotton in 1895. This, by the way, is of itself a hard nut for the bimetallists to crack. Indian cotton, they have told us, raised on a bimetallic standard, can be sold in gold-standard countries for twice its price, and no wonder the poor American cotton-grower is ruined. But why on earth is the Indian cotton-grower selling 72,000,000 pounds of cotton in bimetallic Japan for half the sum he could get in Liverpool? We fear a fallacy is lurking somewhere, and not very mysteriously lurking either, in this bimetallic argument.

Another bimetallic assertion fares hard at the hands of Consul Longford's facts. This is that gold countries cannot trade successfully with silver countries. You see, as President Walker has carefully explained, there is no fixed "par of exchange" in such cases, and how under heaven are you going to buy or sell goods without a par of exchange? One side or the other is sure to find itself getting cheated, and the trade will stop, of course, right there. But somehow gold-standard English and German and American manufacturers go right on selling to Japan and taking her produce in exchange, pitiably ignorant that the want of a par of exchange inevitably prevents any such operation. Of the whole foreign trade of Japan in 1895 —$140,000,000—Great Britain's share was $53,000,000, the United States had $34,000,000, Germany $8,000,000. The individual merchants engaged in the business are, of course, losing money, but as they are not aware of it, the fatal nature of the lack of a par of exchange is as yet concealed from them. The foolish fellows actually think they have a par of exchange in the gold in which all their bills are payable.

The actual competition of Japan in the great lines of manufacture is not at all formidable up to the present, Mr. Longford concludes. In but few branches can the Japanese undersell the foreign product, quality for quality, and even the Japanese consumer prefers, as a general thing, the imported to the domestic article. But how about the future? Are not Japanese cheap coal and cheap labor, combined with Japanese inventiveness, to prove a real Yellow Terror to industrial Europe and America? Mr. Longford does not appear to be frightened. He points out some of the changes already observable which are sure to equalize conditions. "Wages in all classes of labor

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have risen, and, while the capitalists are putting money into industries which promote a demand from Europe for manufactures, the lower classes have a higher standard of living than they ever had before." The simple truth is that unstable equilibrium in international trade relations cannot long endure. Differences infallibly adjust themselves. Inventions cannot be monopolized, or a low cost of production kept the exclusive property of one nation dealing with others. The principle that tends to equalize various trades and professions and industries, in respect of their rewards, works among competing nations. Most absurd of all is it to suppose that the alert Japanese are going to put up with less wages or a lower standard of living than they need to, with their natural earning power shown to them to be what it is. The Irish home-rule question "in a nutshell" has been defined to be "a quick-witted nation governed by a stupid people." In like manner we may say that there is and will be no Yellow Terror unless the quick-witted Japanese become as stupid as the bimetallists who talk about them.

HOW ITALY IS GOVERNED.

ROME, May 10, 1896.

IF it were possible to state in a word the essential element of government in Italy—that which is really the secret spring of official action from the highest to the lowest functions of government—that word would be "Camorra." We take it for granted that Italy is governed constitutionally because it has popular representation and a Parliament, but in point of fact there is not a stage of government in which the decisive agency in the conduct of affairs is not the power of the "Camorra," or what corresponds (as nearly as the Italian nature permits) to our "Ring." Beginning with the communal councils, in which the most minute affairs of the population are decided, there is scarcely a measure passed in which the main motive of decision is not the personal and pecuniary interests of the councillors. A relative who has been for many years in the provincial and communal councils in central Italy in which he held a large amount of real estate, assured me that it was the constant practice of the councillors to pass measures for the improvement of their personal property as measures of public utility—roads to open their estates as roads of public necessity, etc., etc.; and of course it is understood that the privilege is always in favor of the richer and to the loss of the poorer of the population. Put in terms of strict logic and honesty, it means that government, so far as taxation and financial expedients go, is a limited system of robbery. An intelligent and independent Italian once said to me, "Every Italian has in his constitution something of the Camorrist"; and he was from Piedmont, where the evil is at its minimum. In the little book by Prof. Villari, 'La Sicilia e il Socialismo,' recently published, I see the following singular declaration, and who knows Villari knows that he always speaks the strict verity:

"A Sicilian, who is also a competent teacher, said to me one day: 'In the little commune where I was born, the party in power does not pay the *dazio consumo* [the tax on all food that comes into the town or village]. Some days ago a certain man refused at the gates to pay, because he was a friend of the assessor of finance. Not being known to the customs officer, he was accompanied to the communal palace, where he was recognized and did not pay. The Opposition does not protest, because, when it is in power, it does the same. And the poor, unfortunately, always pay. My family is not partisan, does not aspire to power, is loved by all, and so never pays.' But what shall I do when, arriving at the gates, they say to me, "Pass, you are known"; must I pay perforce?' Officers of the army, to whom I told the fact at table, said to me that often, and not alone in Sicily, they had repeatedly been obliged to insist on paying: 'You are a major and have the right not to pay.' 'You are commander and ought not to pay.' It is an ancient custom, and the tax-gatherer thinks it must continue. The gentleman who comes from his farm and brings a hare or a turkey in his carriage, does not pay—that is understood; the poor peasant pays for his bread."

In the provincial councils the construction of roads, when not made simply for the benefit of a great proprietor, becomes the subject of bribery, just as much as if it were in New York city, the contract being given nominally to the lowest bidder, but only nominally. In the great cities the collusion is worse. When the city of Rome proposed to construct the great embankments on both banks of the Tiber for the restraining of the floods, a building company offered to take the contract for sixty millions of francs, and the city refused, pretending to make economies by giving it out in lots; and when it had spent more than one hundred millions and had become bankrupt, the royal Government had to finish the work. In Milan, Turin, and some other cities of the north these things are measurably avoided, so the system is not always in fault; but the further south you go, the stronger the Camorra. In Naples no measure is passed without paying its contribution to the corruption fund.

In Parliament it takes another form. It is impossible to organize political parties in the Chamber of Deputies because there is always a very large proportion of the Deputies who will vote according to the appropriations made by the Ministry for expenditure in their electoral colleges, on highroads, railroads, endowment of local universities, ports even where no shipping exists, and so through all the demands of a population accustomed to be provided for at the public expense; which, after all, comes to paying all round, only much more for the waste and the Camorra. A gentleman of my acquaintance who owned a large estate in the district of which Acquapendente is the chief town, and who had constructed an admirable road through it, covering half the distance between the town and the nearest railway station, offered the municipality the use of his road if it would construct one to connect with it, in default of which, communication was carried on by circuitous and very much longer roads. The municipality refused the offer, saying that they would make the Government build a railroad, and they would spend nothing for a carriage road. But for the financial disaster which stopped all the new railways, it is probable that the Acquapendente road would have been built ere this, though for the exclusive use of a small town without commerce or industry, and which, like so many other Italian railways, would never pay the working expenses.

The organization of political parties, even on the most elementary principles of political economy, is therefore impossible, for there is always a body of Deputies, numbering probably from 100 to 150, who will vote for any ministry that promises local expenditure. The railway ring alone devours the public revenue to the amount of many millions (before the crisis and practical bankruptcy it was 200 millions annually, excess of expenditure above the receipts); and local expenditure apart from that controlled by Parliament adds much to this, from other works. Milan, again, is greatly interested in manufactures, and a partial system of high protection is established for the benefit of Milan, though the country at large is strongly interested in free trade.

It might be supposed that the Camorra must finish at the elective body of the Parliament, but in fact the throne is surrounded by a ring which no interest of the country, however sacred, has ever succeeded in breaking. This, which is known as the "palace Camorra," occupies itself with the composition of the Ministry and the secret direction of foreign affairs. It is composed of court favorites of both sexes, superior officers of the army possessing the personal confidence of the King, members of the diplomatic body, Senators, etc., and its action is immediately upon the sovereign, owing to which ministerial crises are directed, and appointment of the higher functionaries, especially in the army, is controlled. This ring is thoroughly French in its political sympathies, and has always been hostile to the Triple Alliance and to Crispi. From its pressure on the sovereign no ministry has ever been able to escape, and the latest instance of its overruling the constitutional powers was the refusal to permit the late Ministry to recall Baratieri from Africa when it was so clearly seen that he was losing all power of direction of the campaign.

Baratieri belonged to a group of political personages, Deputies and others, himself being a Deputy, and the ring at the palace had need of his influence in certain contingencies, so that what glory and consequent influence were to be got out of the war were to be gained by him as one of its number. He belonged to the Zanardelli group, and, when that chief attempted to form a ministry, had been the candidate for Minister of Foreign Affairs. The *Gazzetta del Popolo*, the leading journal of Piedmont, and the most independent and honest journal in Italy, said in its leading article on the African question: "It is said, and with too much justice, that the Abyssinian campaign has been carried on more with a view to Parliamentary and journalistic results than from true military motives. Most sacred truth! If Baratieri had not been a Deputy and of the group of Zanardelli, even designated as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he would have been recalled long ago, and Italy would not now be mourning Amba Alagi and Abba Carima [as the battle of Adua is now called]." But if, being Deputy, he had not been one of the ring which serves the purposes of secret political combinations (one of the most important of these being to combat and paralyze the operations of the party which regards the Triple Alliance and the agreement with England as the vital interests of the country, and which has lately been led by Crispi), he would have found no support against the demand of the Ministry for his recall. As it was, it was simply the pressure of the "palace Camorra" which induced the King to refuse to allow him to be recalled.

All these things are now matters of general public knowledge, and the effect on the popularity of the King can easily be imagined. He is digging the grave of the monarchy more effectually than all the republicans in the kingdom. The professed republicans who have succeeded to Mazzini, Bertani, Alberto Mario,

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and their contemporaries and associates are, with two or three exceptions, the blindest instruments in the hands of French intriguers, and France has very few friends in Italy besides them and the "palace Camorra" (with which they are also leagued by a common animosity to Crispi); so that, by a strange combination, the republicanism of France is the worst damper on that of Italy, and the momentary safeguard of the throne. So thoroughly is this condition of things known in the country that I have heard it openly said by old publicists of various political connections, that it is only the abdication of the King that can save the throne. The country begins, in view of the disasters of Abyssinia, to revolt at being governed by irresponsible and irrecognizable intriguers composing the "palace Camorra."

X.

REVENUE MEASURES IN JAPAN.

TOKYO, April 25, 1896.

REMARKABLE as has been the political movement in Japan during the last session of Parliament, the actual legislative work of the session has been more remarkable still. At no time during the past six years have measures affecting particularly the finances of the country been proposed or passed that could compare either in interest or in influence with those of the session which has just closed. Had financial bills of similar importance been under consideration in the Congress of the United States, the whole country would have been in a state of excitement; the newspapers would have vied with each other in giving details concerning the progress and probabilities of the measures, and the whole machinery of business would have been disturbed. Here in Japan, on the contrary, the public excitement and disturbance to business may be said to have been nil. One or two taxation measures were, in deed, upon consideration, opposed by certain semi-public bodies, as for instance the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce; but the opposition was half-hearted and the objections offered of an indifferent character.

This quiet acceptance by the public of measures so important cannot be ascribed particularly to any habit of submission or any other race characteristic of the Japanese people. It was seen from the opening of the session that something had to be done to devise means for permanently increasing the revenue of the Government. In the opinion of the executive, as well as of all the political parties, the expenses of the war were not to be met, except incidentally, out of the indemnity. The interest on the public debt that had augmented so rapidly during and immediately after the war had to be provided for. It was also a matter of general agreement that the army and navy were to be strengthened, and provision for this purpose had to be made at once. Lastly, the conquest of Formosa proved far more burdensome than was anticipated; and, furthermore, it was seen that the organization of the Government of the island would for some years be a drain upon the treasury rather than a resource to it. These items of increased expenditure were all inevitable features of the budgets of the coming years, and no difference of opinion existed that taxes must be devised to produce a larger revenue. If it be remembered that in Japan financial measures of importance to the nation generally originate with the Government, the Houses for the most part concerning themselves merely with criticising or modifying the bills as introduced, we have an explanation of the small excitement manifested. It was a general sentiment that the measures proposed by the Government were designed to secure as large a revenue as possible with as little friction as was compatible with existing circumstances.

The total annual revenue of the Japanese Government may be roughly put at 97,000,000 yen. The expenditure during the past few years has been less than this, at least by 6 or 7 million yen, a sum which has been employed for the most part in redeeming outstanding public obligations. The expenditure for the coming fiscal year is estimated at 152,000,000 yen, or in round numbers 62,000,000 yen above the ordinary expenditure of past years. About 40,000,000 yen of this increase, however, will be paid out of the indemnity, leaving an excess of about 14 or 15 million yen to be met by increased taxation or by the issue of bonds. The actual normal expenditure after the next fiscal year will, it is estimated, reach a figure between 120 and 130 million yen, and therefore the financial question before the last Parliament was how to devise by methods of taxation an annual increase of revenue over and above the present figure, amounting to something over 25,000,000 yen. It was impossible to augment the land-tax, as that was felt to be high enough, and any attempt in that direction would have met with the direct opposition of Parliament. What was proposed by the Government and accepted by both houses was practically the establishment of two new taxes and the increase of two old ones. The new ones are the registration and trade taxes, the others are the taxes on saké and tobacco.

To explain these four taxes properly in all their bearings would require a volume, as they have to do with conditions of production and trade that are to some extent peculiar to Japan. It is to be noted, too, that an adequate translation of the acts has not yet appeared, and until this is done various minor points concerning them must remain obscure to foreigners. At this stage, therefore, a simple outline must suffice.

The registration tax is to be levied on the registration of all lands, buildings, professions of nearly every description, companies, mines, successions, public bonds, marriages, divorces, and other legal functions specified in the act. The rate is in every case stated in the act. On buildings and lands it varies between 2-10 per cent. to 3-10 per cent. of the market value, on companies from 2-100 per cent. to 3-10 per cent. of the capital. In the case of professions, the tax takes the form of a license fee, amounting, for instance, in the case of lawyers, to 20 yen for the first registration and 10 yen for renewals. The tax is heaviest on mines. For trial operations the tax is 50 yen, for active working 100 yen, and for the sale or purchase of mining rights 50 yen. As certain registry taxes have been in existence in Japan for many years, the old ones are in every case superseded by the new law. There is also a list of exemptions, comprising especially those who work for daily wages, servants, etc. The law goes into operation from the 1st of April of the present year. The estimated proceeds of this tax are 6,800,000 yen.

The trade tax is even more complicated than the preceding. It is assessed on every kind of trade, manufacture, wholesale or retail business, and includes, besides, banking operations, insurance companies, money-lending, transportation, printing, photography, hotels, restaurants, brokerage, warehousing, and other forms of industrial enterprise. The system of assessing the tax is necessarily minute and intricate, but whether it will prove simpler in practice than it now seems, remains to be seen. The tax is generally proportioned to the amount of business done. In the case of merchants the rate is 5-100 per cent. on the proceeds of sales for wholesale transactions, and 15-100 per cent. for retail transactions, together with 4 per cent. of the rent of the premises, and 1 yen per employee. In the case of banking, insurance, money-lending, warehousing, etc., the rate is 2-10 per cent. of the capital plus 4 per cent. of the rent of the premises and 1 yen per employee. In the case of manufactures and photography the tax is assessed at the rate of 15-100 per cent. of the capital, plus 4 per cent. of the rent of the premises, 1 yen per business employee, and 30 sen per hand. There is a small list of exemptions, comprising (1) those engaged in certain Government businesses, (2) those engaged in wholesale and retail business during the first year of their enterprise, and (3) those engaged in banking, insurance, manufactures, etc., during the first three years of their enterprise. There are minute provisions for appraising the rent of premises and for computing the proceeds of sales. The law goes into effect on the 1st of January, 1897. The estimated yield of the tax is 7,550,000 yen.

The two remaining taxes are not new taxes, and were intended to be merely augmentations of existing ones, yet both are so reorganized under the new law that they can scarcely be recognized as old friends in their new garb. The saké tax bill is long and complicated, partly because there are so many varieties of this article made, and partly because the conditions under which it is produced are so peculiar. The capital point of the new system is that ordinary saké—the kind consumed by the great mass of people—is to be taxed at the rate of seven yen per koku, instead of four yen per koku, as heretofore (the koku is equal to nearly forty gallons). The tax on other kinds of saké is raised in about the same proportion. The estimated yield according to the new rate is 9,200,000 yen in round numbers, an increase of nearly double the old yield. The new system goes into operation on the 1st of October next.

The new law regarding tobacco is an innovation in Japan, and introduces something like a revolution in her system of raising revenue. Until now the tobacco tax has been in the main a copy of the American system. The tax has been assessed in the form of a stamp-tax, with the stamp affixed to the package for sale. The only difference between the two systems has been that in Japan the value of the stamp has varied with the price of the article, whereas in the United States the tax is a fixed amount per pound independent of the price. This system has been very successful in America, but in Japan there was this difficulty, that a very large amount (I believe fully one-half) of the tobacco never came into the hands of the manufacturer, but was used by the agricultural classes for home consumption without paying any tax. For this reason the revenue from tobacco has fallen far short of what it would be in America, where the cultivation of tobacco is localized and the great mass of farmers buy their tobacco from the "store." The problem of the Japanese Government was to make all consumers of tobacco pay the tax, and at the same time not to cause too much interference with the industry.

For this purpose the Government proposed to make the business of buying and selling the leaf tobacco a Government monopoly. According to the new law, all growers of tobacco

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are to send in notice to the proper officials, by the end of April, of the area devoted to the cultivation of the leaf. The Government reserves the right of limiting this area if necessary. The grower is not to keep back any of this amount for his own use or for sale, unless he intends it for exportation, in which latter case he has full liberty to sell it to others under proper safeguards. By this means the Government hopes to get possession of all the tobacco raised for consumption in the country. The commodity is to be stored in Government warehouses and sold to manufacturers at fixed prices, the difference between the purchase and selling price representing the profits of the monopoly to the State. As already explained, it is not so much intended that the price paid the farmer or demanded from the manufacturer shall be very different from the present range of prices, as that the Government shall collect the tax from *all* consumers and incidentally absorb the profits of the middleman. The new system will not come into force until the 1st of January, 1898—a date not too remote, as the Government will find it necessary to establish a large amount of machinery, especially warehouses, to effect the monopoly. The estimated yield of the new system is over 10,000,000 yen, or more than twice the proceeds of the present tax.

These are the four measures that the Government has resorted to for increasing the revenue. The total receipts from these four taxes are estimated at more than 33,000,000 yen, but as the taxes to be repealed as soon as the new measures come into force amount to about 7,000,000 yen, the net increase is estimated at 26,000,000 yen. This estimate is not excessive. It is probable that as soon as the new system is in working order the proceeds will be somewhat more than this, and, with the growth of Japan, industrially and commercially, the amount will be considerably larger. For the next two years, however, the benefit to the Treasury will be small, partly because all the new taxes do not go immediately into force, partly because the new system, especially the tobacco monopoly, will require in the first instance a certain outlay from the Treasury, and partly because any new tax system requires time to be organized efficiently.

It would not be difficult to offer criticisms on the kind of taxes selected by the Government for the sake of increasing the revenue. Nothing is so tempting as to carp at the weak points of any tax or system of taxes, and nothing is so chimerical as to attempt to satisfy all classes in a community. One or two points may, however, be noted. In the first place, it is doubtful whether more time could not have been spent profitably in the discussion of four such important measures, or at least whether two of the measures could not have been postponed for consideration to the next session of Parliament. In the second place, it is questionable whether difficulties will not result from the peculiar method of imposing the trade tax. A similar tax is imposed in other countries, notably France, without recourse to the necessity of inspecting the books and accounts of any business firm or company. A system of assessment that turns wholly upon certain obvious outward characteristics (though the Japanese trade tax contains in part such features) is preferable, if it can in fairness be carried out. Lastly, it is a matter of doubt whether the tobacco monopoly was a necessity. It is likely that the Government knew what it was about when it instituted a monopoly; yet it seems reasonable to suppose that a moderate increase in the rate of the tobacco tax might have proved, within a few million yen, as productive of revenue without subjecting the tobacco industry to the great amount of official supervision which the new system demands. But these are rather incidental criticisms than vital objections. If the Government shows a disposition to administer the new system of taxes with as much impartiality and as little needless interference as possible, it will no doubt achieve as much success as any government does at present in a matter so unpopular, yet so indispensable to the nation's welfare.

G. D.

Correspondence.

JOHN COLTER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The interest which always attaches to the personal history of the pioneers in American exploration is my apology for presenting the following facts concerning one of the most noted of those early characters. In a recent work* I gave a summary of what was then known concerning the adventures of John Colter, the discoverer of the Yellowstone Wonderland, and endeavored to unravel the mystery in which was buried too deeply the history of a very notable performance. Since the publication of this work I have come across two new references to Colter, both prior to the year 1820, one in an obscure chapter of an old work on Louisiana, and the other in a letter from Thomas Biddle to Gen. Atkinson, treating of the Indian trade. While this new information happily confirms the theory already worked out as to the scope and purpose of Colter's wanderings, it goes far towards filling the blanks in the existing record, and in one respect adds an original leaf to the laurel of Colter's fame.

As hitherto understood, the biography of John Colter may be very briefly stated. He was a private in the expedition of Lewis and Clark. On the return of the expedition from the Pacific, Colter secured his discharge at the site of the Mandan villages, and went back up the river with two companions to hunt and trap. In 1807 he made a long journey through what is now Northwestern Wyoming, and while on this journey discovered the peculiar volcanic country which exists near the headwaters of the Yellowstone. In the following summer he commenced trapping, with a companion named Potts, on the headwaters of the Missouri. Here they were attacked by the Blackfeet, Potts was slain, and Colter, by running the gauntlet, escaped, though by the narrowest margin and with incredible suffering and exertion. In 1810 he returned to St. Louis. He saw much of Clark, Brackenridge, Bradbury, and others, told of his adventures, was evidently believed by the more discerning, but was ridiculed by the great mass of his listeners, who derisively christened the scene of his exploits "Colter's Hell." In 1811 Colter moved some distance up the Missouri, married, and made his exit from history.

It now appears that Colter did not remain continuously in the upper country from 1806 to 1810. In the spring of 1807 he set out for St. Louis and descended the Missouri as far as to the mouth of the Platte. Here he was met by a party under Manuel Lisa, the celebrated trader, who induced him to return to the upper rivers. When the expedition arrived in the Yellowstone country, the Blackfeet Indians were encountered. Lisa was agreeably disappointed to find them not hostile, as he feared they might be on account of their experience with Capt. Lewis the previous year. But it seems that they were so sensible of the provocation under which Capt. Lewis had acted that they had not cherished the loss of their two brethren at his hands as a cause for revenge, and were ready for friendly intercourse with the whites.

When Lisa reached the mouth of the Big-horn, he set up a trading post and dispatched Colter to visit the neighboring tribes and bring them in to trade. Colter set out with a "thirty-pound pack," and travelled several hundred miles, part of the time alone, and part of the time with Indians. While in company with a party of Crows, they were attacked by the Blackfeet. Colter, in self-defence, fought with the Crows, distinguishing himself greatly. The Blackfeet were defeated with loss, but not until they had seen a white man fighting on the side of their hereditary foes.

Next year Colter and Potts, while trapping on the Upper Missouri, were surprised by a party of Blackfeet who still seemed not disposed to hostility. But difficulty soon arose, a fight ensued, Potts and two Indians were killed, and Colter made his escape.

These two encounters in which the Blackfeet suffered so signally, and, more particularly, the unfortunate appearance of especial friendship on the part of the whites for the Crow nation, as evidenced by the location of a trading-post in the country of that tribe, and by the presence of one of their number in the fighting ranks of the Crows, determined irrevocably the future attitude of the Blackfeet toward the whites. Whenever thereafter they met, it was always on terms of instant and deadly hostility.

It thus appears that the adventures of John Colter, which have hitherto seemed decidedly of the romantic and fictitious order, were the result of a definite purpose of trade with the Indians. His "route in 1807" was a simple business enterprise. His terrible experience with the Blackfeet was no fiction. His fame as discoverer of the Yellowstone Wonderland rests on a secure basis. But, with these claims to the remembrance of posterity, he must henceforth share the burden, so long borne by the great explorer Capt. Meriwether Lewis, of having been in part the cause of that malignant and lasting enmity of the Blackfeet towards the whites which, for upwards of threescore years, played so important a part in the history of the far West.

Hiram M. Chittenden.

*'The Yellowstone National Park,' 1895.

IN MEMORY OF GEORGE STEPHENS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A committee has been formed, with Sir Edmund Monson, British Ambassador to Austria, as chairman, and the Rev. C. A. Moore, late Chaplain of H.B.M.'s Legation in Denmark, as secretary, to establish a memorial to Prof. George Stephens, for many years in charge of the Department of English at the University of Copenhagen, but better known through his writings on runology. The memorial is to take the appropriate form of "a small Endowment Fund bearing his name, for the benefit of St. Alban's Church, Copenhagen, towards the founding and maintenance of which Prof. Stephens labored long and zealously."

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Prof. Stephens had not a few friends in this country who have enjoyed his hospitality at the villa on Bianco Lunos Allée, and they will undoubtedly be glad to learn of this opportunity to express their regard. Subscriptions may be sent to the Rev. C. A. Moore, Gustav Adolf Strasse 6, Dresden, Saxony.—Yours respectfully, DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

CHAMPAIGN, ILL., May 23, 1896.

Notes.

STONE & KIMBALL have transferred their entire business from Chicago to No. 139 Fifth Avenue, New York; the *Chap-book* alone having been left behind as the property of Mr. H. S. Stone, formerly a member of the above corporation. They have nearly ready 'The Purple East,' poems principally about Armenia, by William Watson; 'The Yankees of the East,' a book of letters on Japan, by William E. Curtis, in two volumes with illustrations; 'The Thlinkets of Northern Alaska,' by Francis Knapp and Rheta Louise Childe, illustrated; 'Six Conversations and Some Correspondence,' by Clyde Fitch; 'Wives in Exile,' a society novel by William Sharp; 'In a Dike Shanty,' by Maria Louise Pool; 'An Adventurer of the North,' by Gilbert Parker; 'The Island of Dr. Moreau,' by H. G. Wells; and 'Miss Armstrong's and Other Circumstances,' short stories by John Davidson.

Edward Arnold announces for June first 'George's Mother,' a novel by Stephen Crane.

A popular Life of Edison, by E. C. Kenyon, is promised by Thomas Whittaker.

Macmillan's latest announcements are 'A History of Elementary Mathematics,' by Dr. Florian Cajori of Colorado College; a text-book of selections from Chaucer by Prof. Hiram Corson of Cornell; Leibnitz's 'Critique of Locke,' translated by Alfred G. Langley; an 'Introduction to Public Finance,' by Prof. Carl C. Plehn of the University of California; and 'Embarrassments,' short stories by Henry James.

'The Continent of America: Its Discovery and Baptism,' including an attempt to establish the landfall of Columbus on Watling's Island, by John Boyd Thacher, is an expensive work about to be issued in a limited edition by Wm. Evarts Benjamin, 10 West 22d St., N. Y.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. will soon issue 'Camilla,' a novel of society life in Stockholm, from the Swedish of Richert von Koch; 'The Victory of Ezry Gardner,' a Nantucket idyl by Miss Imogen Clark; and 'The Social Meaning of Religious Experiences,' by Dr. Herron.

From D. C. Heath & Co. we are to have 'The Problem of Elementary Composition,' by Elizabeth H. Spalding, and 'Select Poems of Robert Burns,' edited by Andrew J. George.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. propose a Riverside School Library embracing a series of fifty books pertinent to the name of the series. Franklin's Autobiography, Andersen's Tales, the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' and 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' among others, will enter into this collection.

The first complete illustrated edition of Marryat's works in Danish is about to be published at Copenhagen. The translator is P. Jerndorff-Jessen, and the translation will be revised, to avoid possible technical mistakes, by a prominent Danish naval officer. This precaution would be an admirable one in the case of many original works treating of the sea, whose authors have less practical experience than the author of 'Peter Simple.'

What Mr. David Hannay has given us in his 'Don Emilio Castelar' (F. Warne & Co.) is a vivacious and cynical sketch of Spanish politics since the revolution of 1868, with Castelar only occasionally appearing as the *deus ex machinâ*, or, more frequently, the god run over and crushed flat by the machine. Of Castelar on his oratorical or his literary side, little or nothing is said; his personality is left almost wholly in the shadow. Of his political theories and political career, even, no formal account or summation is given. His name, in short, has simply furnished Mr. Hannay a peg upon which to hang his lively description of Spanish political methods and changes. This seems a little misleading, in a series specifically devoted to "Public Men of To-day"; but, after all, we think the author has chosen wisely. His long residence in Spain, and intimate acquaintance with the Spanish political character from the inside, make what he writes here of much more value than a perfunctory but more personal account of Castelar could possibly have been. For the light his incisive comments throw upon the present situation of Spain, his book makes an especial appeal to present-day readers.

'Studies in Plant Form, with some suggestions for their Application in Design,' by A. E. V. Lilley and W. Midgley (Scribners), is likely to prove a useful volume to many interested in ornamental designing. Not that the book itself is particularly good or the "suggestions" particularly valuable. The general remarks on the "principles of design" are slight, and the "concise accounts of the technical requirements of the different processes" are, though sensible, altogether too concise; but, as the authors remark in the preface, "it is seldom that the plant most suitable for a particular design is in season when it is wanted, and it is often . . . difficult (sometimes impossible) to find a drawing of the ornamental sides of many plants." They therefore conceived the idea of giving a series of somewhat simplified and decorative drawings of plant forms, supplemented by some very good and clear photographs from nature. The designs which the authors have formed from this material are not always extremely successful, but the material itself is most valuable.

Curtis & Co. of Boston, publishers of the "Copley Prints," recently noticed by us, send us a well printed little pamphlet by Ernest Fenollosa on the 'Mural Paintings in the Boston Public Library.' We heartily agree with Mr. Fenollosa's estimate of the importance, in forming a national school of art, of this effort towards monumental painting, and he says so much that we believe to be true, and so much more that we should like to believe to be true, that it seems ungracious to quarrel with his enthusiasm; but we cannot help the feeling that a greater reticence of language would have carried greater conviction. The implied comparison of Mr. Sargent to Michelangelo would assuredly strike that admirable modern painter himself as excessive, and a certain tropical luxuriance of phrase disguises the soundness of much of the criticism. Still, the criticism *is* sound and suggestive, and we recommend a reading of the pamphlet to any one who may have been tempted to think of "mere decoration" as of an inferior kind of art.

The *Portfolio* for April (Macmillan) is a rarity in that its interest is not only contemporaneous but American. We do not remember an instance, heretofore, of an American artist, resident in America, who has received the honors of an elaborate monograph in an important foreign publication. Certainly no American artist deserves such homage more than Mr. John Lafarge, who has now received it. The text, by Cecilia Waern, is well written, and is illuminated by a liberal quantity of Mr. Lafarge's own charming prose. It makes no attempt "to assign him a set rank"—it will be many years before that can be done—but is wisely confined to an account of his "development, ideals, and aims, together with a few hints as to temperament and gifts that constitute his artistic personality." By a singular oversight the date of his birth (1835) has been entirely omitted. The illustrations are numerous and well executed, and give an adequate idea of the range of Mr. Lafarge's production, if not of its quality. Whether in paint or in glass, color is such an essential element of his art that he suffers more than most painters from any form of reproduction. We regret that something more was not given us in illustration of his admirable landscape painting, some of which will, we think, finally hold the highest rank in his completed work.

M. Auguste Brachet's 'Historical Grammar of the French Language' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York; Macmillan) is practically a new work, not only as enlarged, but as having been rewritten in great part by Mr. Paget Toynbee, whose competence is well known to scholars. The book, in fact, has been brought up to date, and the results of the most recent researches embodied in it. The whole of Book I., which treats of Phonetics, and forms more than half of the volume, is entirely original. Books II. and III. have also been so largely rewritten that Brachet's own share is greatly diminished, and his Introduction alone is retained nearly in full. Division into paragraphs and the addition of two very full indices, one of subjects and one of words, facilitate the use of the book for reference purposes.

"Devant le Siècle" (Paris: Colin & Cie.) is the last *recueil* of articles by the Vicomte de Vogüé, and contains some noteworthy pages. The study of Heredia's "Trophées," that on Taine, and that on Montégut have distinct value. The article on Canrobert is touching as well. "Premier Septembre" is a realistic account of so much of the war as the writer saw, interspersed with sound advice to his compatriots.

M. George L. Fonsegrive studies contemporary literature from the Christian standpoint, and is not ashamed to say so. Another recommendation is that he speaks intelligently on the subjects he treats, and his articles, originally published in *La Quinzaine* and now issued collectively under the title 'Les Livres et les Idées—1894-95' (Paris: Lecoffre), are worth reading. It is really ideas more than the books themselves which he discusses. The following may be noticed more particularly: "Le Bilan de la Science," "Le Sentiment religieux dans le Roman," and "L'Éducation morale."

The fourth and concluding volume of Amédée Roux's history of Italian literature has just appeared (Paris: Plon & Cie.). It covers the period from 1883 to 1896. The lack of an index, so very common a defect in French books, diminishes the practical value of this work.

On May 14, 1796, Dr. Edward Jenner first performed the operation of vaccination, and in celebration of the centennial anniversary of this beneficent discovery the Imperial Board of Health in Berlin has issued a memorial entitled 'Smallpox and Preventive Vaccination' ('Blattern und Schutzpockenimpfung'). Vaccination was made compulsory in Bavaria as

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early as August 26, 1807, but did not become generally obligatory in Germany before the enactment of the "Reichs-Impfgesetz" of April 8, 1874, the necessity of which was proved by the epidemic of smallpox that had raged a short time before in all the principal German cities except Munich, whose inhabitants remained comparatively free from the scourge. In 1895 the mortality from smallpox in Bavaria amounted to the fraction 0.017 of every 100,000 inhabitants; in other words, there were only seven cases and a single death. It is also shown that, with proper precautions as regards the purity of the vaccine matter, there is not the slightest danger of infection or of any injury whatever to the patient. The publication of these statistics is the answer of the Board of Health to the recent attempts in the Imperial Diet to abolish the law making vaccination and revaccination obligatory.

Members of the Faculty of the University of Göttingen have, in more than one way, in recent years shown their active interest in the advancement of woman. The articles on "Die Deutsche Frauenbewegung" by Prof. Gustav Cohn of the department of political science (*Rundschau*, March-May) furnish new evidence that the spirit of progress has found an abode in that famous seat of learning. The historical portions of Prof. Cohn's treatise are, on the whole, critical and philosophical rather than statistical (full statistics on the subject may be found in the work of Frau Lina Morgenstern, Berlin, 1895, and elsewhere), but he gives in broad outlines an interesting account of the movement during the last thirty years from the standpoint of a conservative and hopeful sympathizer.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for May contains a timely article, by Capt. Maunsell, on Turkish Armenia and Kurdistan. Though mainly topographical, it gives interesting descriptions of scenery and of the people and their homes—for example, of an Armenian mountain-village which is occupied through the winter (many are deserted for the plains at this season), and whose street is covered so that the village has one common roof. "The interior is like a rabbit warren, and it is difficult for the uninitiated to grope about and escape being knocked down in the semi-darkness by cattle being driven in and out." Each house contains, in addition to the oven, a great vat for storing water in winter to prevent its being frozen. The author emphasises the importance, geographical and strategical, of the Armenian plateau with relation to the great lines of communication between Europe and Asia. There is also an interesting account of the Falkland Islands, the people, and their great industry, sheep-raising. In a population of 1,900 there is not one who is receiving aid from the poor-fund, and the average amount to the credit of the 250 depositors in the savings bank is $650.

A most adventurous journey is described in the *Geographical Journal* for May. Mr. St. George Littledale, accompanied by his wife and nephew, starting from Yarkand early in January, 1895, crossed Thibet from north to south, coming within forty-eight miles of Lhasa. Here he was compelled to turn westward, and entered India through Kashmir. Some idea of the nature of the country traversed is given by the fact that from April 26 to October 16 they never descended lower than 15,000 feet, and for four weeks of that time had camped over 17,000 feet. At times the thermometer was ten degrees below zero in the tent, and the hair was frozen to the pillow. For seventy-five days they did not see a man. Considering the inaccessibility of Lhasa to Europeans—nothing would induce the Lama Government to admit Mr. Littledale and his party—it is strange to read of the supplies which they received from this place, viz., scented soap, Wills's Bristol bird's-eye tobacco, and groceries wrapped in a queer old print of a London church. This may be a relic of the visit of Manning, the correspondent of Charles Lamb, the only Englishman who has succeeded in reaching Lhasa. The *Journal*, it may be added, incorrectly ascribes this exploit to George Bogle. Mr. Littledale made a rough, but remarkably accurate, route survey of 1,700 miles, much of it through absolutely unexplored country, discovering among other things a mountain chain with peaks 20,000 feet high. He brought back between sixty and seventy plants, found at a height of about 16,000 feet; and ten, including a "striking grass" and a fungus, are probably new to science.

The fourteenth annual report of the Dante Society of Cambridge, Mass., has for its chief accompanying paper some illustrations of the 'Divine Comedy,' extracted by Prof. Norton from the Chronicle of Fra Salimbene (composed 1283-'87), in the original Latin. These are largely concerned with historical personages, but also with incidents like the earthquake alluded to in Inf. xxiii., 37-42, in the fright caused by which Salimbene's mother left him in his cradle and hurried off with his two sisters. Resenting this in after years as a slight on his sex ("because she ought to have had a greater concern for me, a man-child, than for the girls"), he was assured that she picked them up as being larger and more portable.

The Woman's Education Association of Boston has established for the current year several scholarships for work in the summer schools, to be chiefly offered for the course in Physical Geography given by Prof. W. M. Davis of Harvard University. The sum at disposal is not large, and contributions are desired. They may be sent to Mrs. R. H. Richards, Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. A circular issued by the Association enumerates summer courses for 1896 in eight colleges and universities, all at the East, save one (Chicago).

—Prof. Edward Channing of Harvard University has written for the Cambridge Historical Series the volume on 'The United States of America, 1765-1865' (Macmillan). In spite of a pervading impression of slightness, the book is one which may be read with some interest and considerable profit, although any attempt to give, within the narrow limits of three hundred pages, a clear and well-proportioned account of the history of the United States for a hundred years can never be quite successful unless accompanied by great skill in condensation and an unusually interesting style. Unlike most writers of similar manuals, Prof. Channing has apparently chosen to restrict himself to a presentation and discussion of leading events and important situations only, rather than to crowd his pages with facts; but while his selection shows, in general, a sure sense of the relative importance of things, he does not indicate many new points of view, nor are his comments very profound. As a history the book is of somewhat unequal merit. Much the best portion is that covering the period from 1765 to the beginning of Jefferson's first administration in 1801, which is "based on the author's own reading of the original sources"; the treatment is technical, however, rather than broad, and the discussion of the relations between the colonies and the mother country lays at least due emphasis upon the merely legal aspects of the points at issue. For the period subsequent to 1801 the author freely acknowledges special indebtedness to other writers; this part of the work, therefore, presents few points calling for comment, beyond noting that the theory of nullification is summarily dismissed as "ridiculous," and that Prof. Channing has written a very readable account of the slavery controversy without leaving the impression that he regards the struggle as one of very profound significance. We have noted but few *errata*, and none of them serious. Georgia ceded its Western lands in 1802, not in 1801 (p. 111). The Ordinance of 1787 provided for the eventual formation of five, not six (p. 114) States out of the territory northwest of the Ohio River. Washington's proclamation of neutrality was issued in 1793, not in 1794 (p. 148); and Foot's resolution in regard to the public lands was introduced in December, 1829, not "in 1830" (p. 215). The statement (p. 125) that the eleventh amendment to the Constitution "limited the power of the Supreme Court," is hardly adequate. The volume is equipped with maps and a good index, and there is a useful select bibliography.

—At the "World's Congress of Librarians," held during the World's Fair at Chicago, in 1893, it was proposed to form a union of the principal libraries of Europe and America for the purpose of publishing facsimiles of the rarest and most valuable manuscripts. The cost of reproduction was to be borne by the associated libraries, and the facsimiles were to be distributed among them. It was furthermore agreed that the enterprise should be under the direction of W. N. Du Rieu, the librarian of the University of Leyden in Holland, and that the publisher should be A. W. Sijthoff of the same city. Owing to financial difficulties, this plan was not carried into effect, and the enterprising Leyden publisher has now undertaken to reproduce these facsimiles at his own expense under the editorial superintendence of Du Rieu. The first series will consist of six Greek and six Latin manuscripts, among which may be mentioned the Æschylus of the Laurentian Library of Florence, the Dioscorides of Vienna, the Plato of Oxford, the Lucretius of Leyden, and both the Florentine manuscripts of Tacitus. The first volume issued will be the manuscript of the first eight books of the Septuagint, written in the fifth century, and formerly the property of the French councillor Claude Sarrau (deceased in 1651), and therefore known as the Codex Sarravianus. It consists of 153 leaves, of which 130 are in Leyden, 22 in Paris, and 1 in St. Petersburg. A successful reproduction of these widely scattered fragments will bring them together in a single volume, and thus render the whole codex again available by scholars. The directors of European libraries are, as a rule, exceedingly liberal in placing their manuscripts at the disposal of the libraries of other countries for the promotion of special researches. The State Library of Munich has even permitted unique manuscripts to be sent to the United States for this purpose. But such a stretch of generosity is attended with great risks and might result in irreparable loss. Nearly every large library has among its manuscript treasures a limited number of so-called *kimelia* (jewels), which are never lent, but belong to the category known in France as "manuscrits non-touristes." As the Leyden publisher announces, it is to the "reproduction des manuscrits grecs et latins non-touristes" that particular atten-

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tion will be given. Excellent facsimiles of several kimelia, such as the Demosthenes in Paris, the Nibelungen in Munich, the Anglo-Saxon manuscript in Vercelli, the Psalter in Utrecht, and the 'Imitatio Christi' in Brussels, already exist and have met with unqualified praise. It is to be hoped that the new enterprise will be fully appreciated by scholars and receive the support of libraries and universities in this country. It is hardly necessary to insist upon the value of these facsimiles not only for the purposes of collation in editing texts, but also for imparting class-room instruction in palæography.

—Herr Wilhelm Bode, the well-known conservator of the Museum of Berlin, tells in *Pan* the story of how he formed the collection of Italian bronzes which is one of the glories of that gallery. With great modesty he attributes most of his *trouvailles* to chance and to good luck, but it is easy to see that his own unwearied activity, and his sureness of taste and keenness of scent as a connoisseur, have been more valuable to him than any luck. His first purchases date from a journey which he made into Italy at a time when he was only an attaché of the Museum. He had been commissioned to bring back some casts, but he convinced himself very soon that, with a little perseverance and good fortune, he could at almost the same cost obtain originals. It was thus that he bought the famous busts of the Palazzo Strozzi, Michelangelo's "St. John," a "Cavalier" of Riccio's, which he found at Venice, a "St. John" of Donatello's, and other most valuable works. Herr Bode tells his tale not without humor, and some of the stories of his ruses and tricks as a collector are most amusing. He was once paying a visit to Frederic Spitzer, who lived then in narrow lodgings in the Rue de Rivoli, when the Baron Adolphe de Rothschild was announced. Bode took refuge in a sort of lumber-room, and found there on the floor a great study of a head for a statue of Ludovico di Gonzaga, which he studied at his leisure. "When Spitzer came back," Bode says, "he told me with a smile that connoisseurs themselves had their moments of error, and that he had let himself be taken in when he bought that study. I concealed my surprise, and some weeks after I profited by his avowal and bought the sculpture very cheap through an agent." The famous Spanish statue, the "Madonna in Tears," which is one of the finest pieces in the Berlin Museum, was acquired by methods even less direct and frank.

—The Impressionists hold the Luxembourg in force, awaiting there the time of their triumphal march to the Louvre. The Caillebotte collection has just been accepted by the Conseil d'État. M. Gustave Caillebotte was himself an Impressionist painter, and in the course of the last thirty years had gathered together sixty-six canvases, works of his school, and at his death bequeathed them to the nation. At first there were some difficulties raised as to the legacy. M. Caillebotte had prescribed that his entire collection should go into the Museum; the directors of the Beaux-Arts, however, wished that certain pictures of minor value should be removed from it. A newspaper discussion arose upon this point, together with false rumors that the gift would be declined. In reality there was only a misunderstanding, and a very slight one at that, and the authorities of the Museum and the Caillebotte heirs are now entirely agreed. Forty pictures, instead of sixty-six, go to the Luxembourg. These canvases have been chosen by the Conservator of the Museum and by the artists interested. Of Manet, there are two pictures; of Dégas, seven pastels; of Cézanne, one painting; of Claude Monet, eight; of Renoir, six; of Sisley, six; of Pissarro, eight; there are also two of Millet's drawings. When one remembers the twenty years of insult and of obloquy through which the Impressionist school has struggled to its present position, and when one remembers also how recent is the time when Claude Monet had to fight almost desperately to win a place at the Luxembourg for Édouard Manet's "Olympia," one can see how substantial the present triumph is. The Caillebotte collection will be hung in a new gallery which is to be built upon the garden terrace, and which will open from the vestibule of sculpture.

—From 1871 to 1877 the late Viscount de Gontaut-Biron represented the French republic at Berlin; and, under the catching title 'An Ambassador of the Vanquished,' his friend and sometime chief, the Duke de Broglie, has described De Gontaut's experiences and the relations between France and Germany during the six years that followed the peace of Frankfort. The book is based, as the title-page declares, upon the Ambassador's diaries and memoranda; but this material is obviously supplemented by De Broglie's personal knowledge of the events narrated. De Broglie was the leader of the French royalists; from May, 1873, to May, 1874, he was at the head of President MacMahon's cabinet, and, during the greater part of the year, he held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Incidentally his narrative throws light on the attempted restoration of the Bourbons in the person of "Henry V." The most interesting chapter, however, is that devoted to the "crisis of 1875," when it was feared that Germany intended to provoke a fresh war and crush France before her military power was restored. It seems clear that Moltke and the military party in Prussia favored this course. It is admitted, even by De Broglie, that King William was opposed to it. What is disputed is the attitude of Bismarck. He has always maintained that he had no idea of provoking a war. De Gontaut, however, distrusted him, and initiated, as De Broglie tells us, the measures which secured the intervention of the Russian diplomacy. According to De Broglie, the peril was a real one, and the Ambassador's prompt and shrewd action saved his country. The animosity which Bismarck henceforth displayed against De Gontaut is depicted as the natural resentment of a violent man against the antagonist who has foiled him. The German side of the story is that Bismarck, deeply resenting the unnecessary interference of Russia, resented also the French suspicion which had invoked the interference; and if he held De Gontaut chiefly responsible, it appears from De Broglie's testimony that he was not in error. The volume is translated and annotated by Albert D. Vandam, and published by Macmillan. The character of the translation may be illustrated by a few random excerpts. We read of De Gontaut's "rapid advance *into a midst which lent itself so little to it*" (p. 24); of "scruples which prevented part of the Royalists *to adhere*" to a project (p. 72); of "*dissentiments*" between Bismarck and Von Arnim (p. 75); and of "*the severe appreciations enumerated* in the course of the Bazaine trial with regard to the conduct of the Prussian generals during the war" (p. 146). For the notes which Mr. Vandam has inserted no cause appears except that, like *Mercutio*, but with less reason, he "loves to hear himself talk."

THE COURTSHIPS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth: A History of the Various Negotiations for her Marriage. By Martin A. S. Hume, F.R. Hist. S., Editor of the Calendar of Spanish State Papers of Elizabeth (Public Record Office). London: Unwin; New York: Macmillan. 1896. Illustrated. Pp. vi, 348.

THE history of royal loves and marriages is not angelic or august. True love has seldom run in the course marked out for it by statesmanship or diplomacy, and scandals have been the natural result. Royalty has a claim on our pity and our charitable allowance, since it is generally deprived of conjugal affection, which to the rest of us is the nurse of virtue. Even George IV., had the law allowed him to marry Mrs. Fitzherbert, who seems to have been in every way worthy of love, might have been made a better man. State policy compelled him, in her stead, to take a bride the first sight of whom made him call for brandy. In England every proposal of a dotation for one of the royal family calls forth angry protests from the democracy; a vote for one would almost cost a Radical member of Parliament his political life. Yet so long as the Royal Marriage Act prevents the members of the royal family from marrying whom they please, equity will surely entitle them to dotation. Why do not the Radicals move to repeal the Royal Marriage Act, and restore to the members of the royal family their natural liberty of choice? Princes and princesses would then have no need of marriage portions from the public. They might take their choice among the Rothschilds, Hirsches, Vanderbilts, and Jay Goulds.

In making a special study of the courtships of Elizabeth, Mr. Martin A. S. Hume has had the aid of the Spanish state papers of the reign at the Record Office, of the calendar of which he is the editor, and which could not fail to throw new light upon the subject. The history which he lays before us is a singular mixture of the action of coquetry with that of diplomacy. We are inclined to think that there was in it rather more of coquetry and less of diplomacy than Mr. Hume supposes. When Elizabeth tries to draw Philip II. into a positive offer for her hand, in order, as Mr. Hume says, that she may have the satisfaction of saying that she refused him, coquetry surely predominates over policy. Mr. Hume truly depicts Elizabeth's vanity as perfectly insatiable, so that only those who would consent to pander to it could hope for a continuance of her favor, and such a foible was not likely to observe diplomatic limits. It is pretty evident, also, that sex was strong in her, and that Shakspere's lines describing her as passing on "in maiden meditation, fancy-free," which Mr. Hume takes for his motto, are more beautiful than true. Still, the diplomatic significance of the biddings and chafferings for her hand was unquestionably great. They helped her council to maintain the balance between France and Spain, whose conjunction might have been fatal to the Protestant realm. To credit them, as Mr. Hume does, with "the making of modern England," seems to us, we confess, going too far; but they undoubtedly did much to ward off danger. We cannot help thinking, however, that the England of Walsingham, Drake, and Sydney would, without

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any royal courtships, have managed somehow to save itself.

One dark episode, at all events, in the history there is which had in it nothing diplomatic. Most readers will learn from this treatise for the first time that the modesty of Elizabeth received a shock in her early youth from scandalous treatment undergone at the hands of Lord Seymour, to whose care and that of his wife, Catherine Parr, the Queen Dowager, she was for a time consigned. This in some measure prepares us for her extremely immodest flirtation with the handsome and unprincipled Leicester. That the flirtation went beyond extreme immodesty Elizabeth, when she supposed herself to be dying, positively denied, and her denial may be believed. But it is certain that she openly received Leicester's addresses, knowing that he was already married to Amy Robsart. Here we will let Mr. Hume speak:

"Shortly afterwards, in September, 1560, Cecil took the Bishop [Quadra] aside and complained bitterly of Dudley, who, he said, was trying to turn him out of his place; and then, after exacting many pledges of secrecy, said that the Queen was conducting herself in such a way that he (Cecil) thought of retiring, as he clearly foresaw the ruin of the realm through the Queen's intimacy with Dudley, whom she meant to marry. He begged the Bishop to remonstrate with the Queen, and ended by saying that Dudley was thinking of killing his wife, 'who was said to be ill, although she was quite well.' 'The next day,' writes the Bishop, 'as she was returning from hunting, the Queen told me that Robert's wife was dead, or nearly so, and asked me not to say anything about it. Certainly this business is most shameful and scandalous; and, withal, I am not sure whether she will marry the man at once or even at all, as I do not think she has her mind sufficiently fixed. Cecil says she wishes to do as her father did.' In a postscript of the same letter the writer gives the news of poor Amy Robsart's death. 'She broke her neck—she must have fallen down a staircase,' said the Queen. Henceforward Dudley was free, and the marriage negotiations had another factor to be taken into account."

Before this the Bishop had learned, from a quarter deemed by him trustworthy, that Leicester meant to poison his wife. He afterwards adhered to the opinion that she had been murdered; so, pretty evidently, did Burleigh; and the belief was so rife that preachers in the pulpit impugned the honor of the Queen. Elizabeth might have been made to believe that Leicester's wife was dying, though she ought to have repelled with disgust addresses made to her by the husband of a dying wife. But when the dark prediction was fulfilled by Amy's sudden and violent death, it seems impossible that she should not have divined the truth. Yet she continued her flirtation with Leicester, and, had he been of princely rank, would evidently have made him her husband.

That Leicester's wife was murdered it is hardly possible to doubt. An accidental death could not have been predicted. The hypothesis of suicide has not a shadow either of evidence or of probability in its favor, while it is directly contradicted by the verdict of "mischaunce." There was, of course, a studious show of fair inquiry; but we know what Leicester's influence was and what juries were in those days. Why did not Leicester himself go to the spot and institute the investigation in person? Why, but because the villain dared not look on the face of his murdered wife? That he was a villain all the world believed. He had an Italian "physician" at his side. His second wife accused him of practising on her life. Twice Mr. Hume implicates him in an assassination plot. He was ready to sell his country and its religion to Spain for Spanish support in his matrimonial scheme of ambition, though he afterwards affected to be the patron of the Protestant party. The Catholic morality was dead. The new Protestant morality, though it was gaining ground among the people, had not yet extended itself to the courts, even to those which had broken with the Papacy. Elizabeth had no scruple in instigating Sir Amyas Paulet to make away with Mary Queen of Scots. Nor had she or her councillors any scruple in renewing their connection with Catherine de Médicis, and negotiating with her for a marriage with one of her sons, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Philip II., his son Don Carlos, the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, the Scotch Earl of Arran, Eric King of Sweden, Charles IX. of France, the French Princes Anjou and Alençon—the diplomatic flirtations or semi-flirtations with all these (the amour with Leicester still going on and helping to defeat the other plans), form about as tangled a skein as it was ever the lot of a historian to unwind. For the accomplishment we must refer to Mr. Hume's pages. A spider's web would be as easy to analyze. The most amusing of the courtships, as well as that which came nearest to bearing fruit, was the courtship of the Duc d'Alençon. The Queen's age was double that of her suitor, but he affected to be dying with love of her, so that courtiers said he would have a good voyage across the Channel if he did not swell the waves with his tears. He was deeply pitted with smallpox, and his figure was far from imposing, yet the Queen seems almost to have had serious thoughts of him. She gave him the pet name of her "frog"; she responded to his burning love-letters, and bade him address her as his wife. She flattered his hopes with "nouvelles démonstrations, accompagnées de baisers, privautés, caresses, et mignardises ordinaires aux amants." At his death she wrote to his excellent mother that if a picture of her heart could be seen, there would be seen a body without a soul. This ended the series of courtships, as well it might, the Queen being now fifty, though her vanity exacted from her courtiers the language of love as the condition of her favor to the end.

It was fortunate for England that of the negotiations for a Spanish, an Austrian, and a French marriage, none took effect. Any one of those connections would have thrown a heavy weight into the scale of Catholicism and reaction. The best policy, if there was to be marriage, was probably that indicated by the nomination of the Scotch Earl of Arran. Had there been a Scotch Protestant up to the mark—which the Earl by no means was—the marriage would have united the two kingdoms, and the island realm might then have bid defiance to its foes. But the only Scotchman who was personally a fit mate for the Queen of England would have been excluded, even when he was unmarried, by the bar sinister on his birth.

The nation earnestly desired that the Queen should marry, both to put a stop to scandals and to secure the succession. Parliament gave expression to the wish. Elizabeth's refusal to marry, if the best husband offered her was Alençon, we can well understand. Her steadfast refusal to name a successor it is not so easy to explain. She left the country to the chances of a disputed succession and a civil war. It is difficult to imagine any motive other than unwillingness to part with power. Pity, at all events, Elizabeth deserves, as a woman undoubtedly of warm temperament and strongly inclined to marriage, yet debarred from it by her position. There is no difficulty in understanding the melancholy which clouded her last days. We need not resort to the pathetic fable about Essex and the ring, or to the more refined hypothesis that she was saddened by the departure of her era—a notion belonging rather to modern philosophy than to Tudor times, to which *fin-de-siècle* fancies were unknown. Elizabeth was a woman; she had dallied with love all her days; and now the end had come and she had missed her happiness.

BRUCE'S ECONOMIC HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.—II.

Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: An Inquiry into the Material Condition of the People, based upon Original and Contemporaneous Records. By Philip Alexander Bruce. Macmillan & Co. 1896. Map. 8vo, pp. xix, 634, 647.

In an agricultural colony poor in capital and growing but a single commercial crop, and one thought to require extensive cultivation, the question of the source of an adequate supply of labor was of great importance. Land was practically unlimited in quantity, but even the land must be cleared of the forest—an arduous task—before the first plant could be laid down. A few years under tobacco exhausted the natural fertility of the soil; fertilizers were too difficult to obtain, and, even when had, proved noxious to the flavor of the tobacco. It was cheaper to move on to a fresh piece of land and begin anew the culture. From the origin of the settlement labor was in demand to clear the forests, and all through the century the labor question was prominently before the planter.

This question was solved, as far as was possible, in two ways: by the employment of servants and the purchase of slaves. The one led easily to the other, and the introduction and general use of negro slaves were followed by consequences which have colored the entire current of our national history. The account of the "servants" given by Mr. Bruce is adequate, very satisfactory, and in many points novel. It is, further, especially notable as an instance of his well-balanced and fearless treatment of a controverted topic. More than thirty years ago the Virginia "cavaliers" were written of in terms of derision, and it was charged that the very scum of England was, in the seventeenth century, dumped perforce into the colony. The poor, the incapable, and the felon were alike regarded as fair "colonial goods," and were shipped as merchandise to be sold to the highest bidder in America for a term of years. Such a conception of the early colonizing methods was an exaggeration upon its face, but it was seriously accepted as historically true, and the display of authorities in its support seemed to be conclusive. That felons were sometimes transported to the colonies is true. Nor is it strange, when it is remembered that the law of the day punished about three hundred crimes with death. One who was condemned to suffer the extreme penalty was a felon; but he might have sinned under mitigating circumstances, and, by a judge inclined to mercy, exile to Virginia was offered in lieu of the gallows. But the policy of the Virginia Company was always against receiving criminals, and, after its dissolution, it was by the act of individual merchants, and not as a settled policy of state, that convicts were introduced. The result was a mere sprinkling of this undesirable class. By far the larger part of the immigration consisted of

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those who had left England because of extreme poverty, or by reason of political disturbances and rebellion in Ireland and Scotland, or those who voluntarily indentured themselves to secure transportation. Still another source of emigrants from England, admirably described by Mr. Bruce, was abduction. In 1680 it was estimated that upwards of ten thousand persons were annually "spirited away" and sent out of England, leaving no trace. As this horrid business involved the kidnapping of a large number of mere children, the press gang becomes respectable beside it.

Once in the colony, the servant was bound to his master for the term of his articles. As the majority of them were still young, a service of from three to seven years would cover the cost of transportation. Their treatment was good, their food better than that given to laborers in England, and they enjoyed the distinction of being esteemed the very best of imported merchandise; a constant demand for servants maintaining the market. After the expiration of service they became members of the community, and their descendants were the equals of those of a full citizen of the colony. That this system was a makeshift, and attended with evils difficult to counteract, the extensive legislation on servants proves. Runaways were common, and the neighboring wilderness made them easy. To maintain the ascendancy of the master, cruelty was authorized, such as branding; but it does not appear that this was often applied or ever carried to excess. It was natural that some friction between master and servant should exist in a system of partial slavery; but this stage was gradually displaced by one of full slavery, where the control of the master was absolute during the life of the slave, and not for a few years only. In the first half of the seventeenth century, servants greatly outnumbered the slaves; but the latter increased more rapidly in proportion, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century the number of slaves was nearly as large as that of servants. The improved economic condition of England must account for the smaller movement of servants.

A Dutch vessel in 1619 brought the first negroes to Virginia, but for seventy years the means of obtaining Africans were limited. As a slave was a laborer for life, and by breeding could supply his successors, he was regarded as a cheaper workman than the white servant, who could be held for a few years, and at the expiration of his term was reasonably certain to leave. The importation of this human merchandise rose gradually from very small numbers to about five hundred a year, when the ability of the planters to purchase was crippled by the troubles of Bacon's rebellion. In the last decade of the century the Royal African Company was the agency of supply; and it is not a little significant that, in the last ten years of the century, the African had almost entirely supplanted the white servant as the basis of head-rights to land. At the same time the Virginian-born slave had become so much the more desirable as to command a better price than the newly imported negro. The slave, or "servant" as he was called, was classed as personal property until the end of the century, when he became by law real estate, except when in the hands of a merchant. But the introduction of the negro amounted to a revolution, for he could not amalgamate with the whites, and, even if freed, retained his peculiar place in the social system, though admitted to certain political privileges if he owned land. In food, clothing, and medical attendance, the slave was believed to be less costly than the white.

On this point we find a serious difficulty in accepting Mr. Bruce's conclusions. He questions the wastefulness of slave labor, "not only in the colonial period, but in the period between the Revolution and the war between the States"; and attributes this waste to the staple grown, tobacco. Large farms and fresh fields were demanded for the successful growth of the plant. He says:

"If the culture of tobacco were very profitable, the tendency to enlarge each estate would be just as strong to-day in Virginia, with labor emancipated, as it was during the existence of slavery. That institution only promoted the extension of the plantation by cheapening labor to the lowest point, which to that degree increased the owner's returns from his crops, enabling him to invest a greater sum each year in land. . . . If for every servant brought into the Colony between 1675 and 1700 a negro had been substituted, the accumulation of wealth by the planters would, during this period, have been more rapid than it was, not on account of their ability to raise a larger quantity of tobacco for sale, which would have been undesirable, as the supply throughout the century was even larger than the demand, but on account of that curtailment in the cost of production which would have followed from the employment of laborers bound for life and not for a term of years."

This is hardly a correct application of an economic principle. The same conditions applied to cotton and to rice as to tobacco; yet the returns are greater, and the actual cost of culture less, under free labor and with small farms than in the palmiest days of slavery. It is a pity that Mr. Bruce could not have proved his point by comparing the yield of tobacco on two farms, the one employing servants and the second slaves, other conditions being nearly equal. The intelligence of the servant must have been to his advantage; and a century later the farmers of Virginia, using slaves, could not produce the cereal crops in competition with Pennsylvania, using free or articled labor. The slave has proved to be the costliest of labor. He works under compulsion, and therefore works ill; he enjoys none of the fruits of his labor, and therefore has no inducement to work well; he shares in none of the betterments of a saving of labor, and therefore he has no call to improve. Paint the plantation system in as rosy colors as you please, there is ever the shiftless, wasteful, and improvident economic background. That slave labor in early Virginia was a step, perhaps a necessary step, in the development of tobacco-culture, need not be questioned. It was as necessary as the white or indentured servant, and, had it been a temporary expedient, the injury to society and agriculture would have been easily overcome on its disappearance. But it became not merely a permanent feature, but the sole form of labor; and that, in the long run, meant ruin to the planter and the reduction of the land to infertility. The economic blunder of slavery was nearly as great, and quite as lasting, as the social blunder. Adam Smith vindicated the virtues of free labor as against slave labor with as much force as he vindicated free commerce against the mercantile system.

So much has been said of staple and slave as to forbid any lingering on other subjects treated by Mr. Bruce. The money system of the colony, the manufactures of the plantation, the rudiments of commerce, the relative value of the estates and the town life, are a few of the general topics of his chapters; and on every point he is full, accurate, and free from bias. It is a pleasure to meet with so satisfying a work, whether regarded as a history or as an exemplification of political economy, and it is destined to rank high as a product of careful and untiring investigation, of enthusiasm tempered by discretion and scholarship. A very full index increases the usefulness of the work.

The Diary of a Japanese Convert. By Kanzō Uchimura. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1895.

THE relations of Christendom and heathendom have not produced another book, from the heathen side, so interesting and valuable as this, which we can now recall. After some introductory matter, we have a journal covering a period extending from 1877 to 1888, and, what is of much greater interest and importance, the deliberate comment on this journal of the mature man. The preliminary account of the author's parentage and early training is instructive and also entertaining, because it is enlivened by those humorous touches which give the book throughout much of its fascination. "Amidst solemn instructions" of his father "about duty and high ambition," he "discerned words of emulation for study and industry with an opulent harem in view." His superstitious relations to the various gods were serious enough in their day, whatever occasion they furnish him for present laughter. Entering a new Government college, he was forced against his will and conscience by the senior class to make the Christian confession. But the proof of the pudding in the eating was extremely satisfactory. "One God and not many was indeed a glad tiding to my little soul. . . . Monotheism made me a new man. I resumed my beans and eggs." Straightway all his superstitious fears vanished into thin air. The enforced adhesion to Christianity was followed in a few months by an emotional conversion and admission to the Methodist Church. A little company of students formed a church organization and cultivated their piety with mutual emulation. But, remaining on their knees for an hour, they found "synovitis" ensuing, and "the general cry was for short prayers," especially as their leader went to sleep in his devotions, with his head bowed on the flour-barrel that answered for a pulpit, and was awakened with difficulty. Another experiment was tried—giving up the meetings to debate, so that they might sharpen their weapons against sceptical attacks on Christianity. The first meeting ended in something very like a row, and the former methods were resumed. Sometimes there were insinuations in the prayers, "not to be heard, of course, by our Father in Heaven," but only by the other devotees. In the whole business there was much immaturity and foolishness; also much junketing and jollity. At the close of the college course virtue had its reward, the Christians making all the class speeches and getting all the prizes but one.

Resolved to "disperse the heathen as we do street-dogs," with much friction and misunderstanding an independent native church was founded by the young graduates. The Methodists wanted back the money they had given, and it was paid. The depleted treasury was filled up by the heroic sacrifices of the young converts, and the finished church was soon out of debt. A great gathering of Christians in 1883 suggests a chapter on Sentimental Christianity. It was said to be a Pentecostal time, but young Uchimura could not obtain the "gifts of the spirit," however he might beat his breast and focus his mental vision on his deceitful heart, as he had been told he must do

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by a fiery Methodist exhorter. Nevertheless, his feet slid in due time.

"With the daily and weekly increase of friends and acquaintances among the believers, my religion was fast inclining towards sentimentalism. . . . Fresh from my country church, with childish innocence and credulity I plunged into the Turkish-bath society of metropolitan Christianity, to be lulled and shampooned by hymns sung by maidens, and sermons that offended nobody."

More or less laxity among the converts, especially in their sexual relations, was the inevitable result of the demand for a numerical increase of converts and of the emotional excitements resorted to in order to draw them in and keep up their nervous tension. A Life of John Howard, and Charles Loring Brace's 'Gesta Christi,' gave Uchimura a timely check upon his downward course, and, hoping to find in Christian civilization the practical realization of his new and loftier ideals, he crossed the Pacific Ocean and landed in California.

From this point onward Mr. Uchimura's book has a peculiar value, far in excess of that of the preceding matter. To that useful gift which enables us to see ourselves as others see us, few of our foreign visitors have contributed so much. He was very much astonished at the familiar every-day use of Scriptural and religious language by Americans. When a railroad car stopped with a jerk, there was an outburst of such language, and on every similar occasion. A misfortune befell one of his friends: "He was *pick-pocketed* of a purse that contained a five-dollar gold piece." Later he lost his new silk umbrella on a Fall River steamer. "I felt the misfortune so keenly that only once in my life I prayed for the damnation of that execrable devil who could steal a shelter from a homeless stranger at the time of his dire necessities." The use of keys and other devices in America to prevent robbery was in strange contrast with the simple confidence of his Japanese experience. In no respect did Christendom seem to him so much like heathendom as in its intense race prejudices, and especially towards those whom the people of the North "had bought with their own blood." A still greater anomaly was the anti-Chinese sentiment. This point is elaborated with much force and eloquence. Pugilism, lotteries, intemperance, lynching, political corruption, and religious jealousies—all these confounded Uchimura, and determined him never to defend Christianity again by holding up the morality of Europe and America.

In Pennsylvania he entered an asylum for idiots as an attendant. The Superintendent, whose favorite hymn was Dr. Furness's

"Slowly by God's hand unfurled,"

pronounced the Unitarians "the narrowest and driest of sects." Nevertheless, his wife was one of them, and Mr. Uchimura could not resist the beauty of her life. Henceforth his religious sympathies must include such as she. "I believe," he says, "an orthodoxy that cannot be reconciled with such a Unitarianism as hers is not worthy to be called orthodox or straight-doctrined. The true liberality, as I take it, is allowance and forbearance of all honest beliefs with an unflinching conviction in one's own faith."

The next step was to a New England college. A great missionary meeting stirs Uchimura to some caustic observations: "The show is worth seeing in all respects." "Converted heathen are made good use of as circus men make use of tamed rhinoceroses." But he advises "the circus men to be more considerate in this matter. On the one hand, they spoil the tamed rhinoceroses, and also induce the untamed ones to simulate the tamed, for that they find the easiest way of getting things good for their rhinoceros flesh." He does not believe in "pity" as a missionary motive, but holds that the effort based on it "might be withdrawn without much detriment to the sender or the sent." While at the college he embraced the orthodox scheme of redemption as he had never done before. Apparently, the influence of the good president had much to do with this, for, going to a theological seminary, he found theology "the driest and most worthless of all studies," while the laughing and jesting of the students over the most serious problems was to him simply shocking. He resolved that such a course could fit neither a Christian nor a heathen to be a good missionary, and he went back to Japan.

In conclusion, he expresses his faith in missionary enterprise while laying his finger here and there on many a festering sore: "Though we despise godless science, yet scienceless evangelization we do not put much value upon. I believe faith is wholly compatible with common sense, and all zealous and successful missionaries have had this sense in abundance." This is one of many pungent sayings that our missionaries should con and inwardly digest.

England's Wealth Ireland's Poverty. By Thomas Lough, M.P. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Putnams. 1896.

THIS book treats of the financial relations between England and Ireland, a matter which for the last two years has been under investigation by a Royal Commission, though no report has yet been made. Mr. Lough has exceptional qualifications for dealing impartially and freshly with a matter hitherto usually left to officials and professional statisticians. He is Irish-born, but not a Catholic, a wholesale merchant in London, Member of Parliament for an English constituency, and actively engaged in London municipal affairs. His personal acquaintance with Ireland, where he has a summer residence, has enabled him to expose and correct many current official fallacies and misrepresentations.

Mr. Lough has made a dry and technical subject pleasant reading and easy of comprehension. Admirable diagrams, in addition to unavoidable tables of figures, give graphic representations of the relative changes in population, taxation, pauperism, trade, etc., in each decade of the century. We are shown the fulfilment of Grattan's words: "Rely on it that Ireland, like every enslaved country, will ultimately be compelled to pay for her own subjugation. Robbery and taxes ever follow conquest; the nation that loses her liberty loses her revenues." The revenue from Ireland paid into the imperial exchequer is from eight to nine million pounds yearly, and the British Treasury maintains that this is spent for the benefit of Ireland. But all expenditure occurs at the pleasure of the British majority; Irish members are in a minority, and cannot control it. Ireland's revenue is largely spent for British purposes, or is wastefully spent in Ireland according to ignorant British notions of what Ireland ought to want. Since the Union, the unbroken course in fiscal matters has been an increase per head of Irish taxation and a decrease of British.

As an example of how the Irish taxes are spent, we find that the military and police together amount to one armed man for every twenty peasants. The police force under British management has increased continuously in numbers and in cost, while population and crime have diminished; the cost of this "secondary army" is as much as the whole taxation of the country was ninety years ago. The total cost of the police force in Scotland (under local management) is only as much as that of the police pensioners in Ireland. Here is Mr. Lough's picture of the police arrangements in the village of Killeshandra, a village of 600 inhabitants, once prosperous, now decayed, and "about as neglected a place as you could find in a civilized country":

"In this village is a barrack containing ten men. This costs £1,000 a year; in Great Britain one policeman would be sufficient for two such villages. But it will be said there is more crime in Ireland. This, however, is a question of fact, and statistics show that, out of every 100,000 people, there are 59.7 in prison in England, 69.6 in Scotland, and only 58 4 in Ireland. In the neighborhood of this village there has been no serious crime for the last half century, and during that time the population of the district has fallen to half, but the number of the police steadily increases. The members of the force are the only prosperous people in the place. They are well fed and clothed and their duties are exceedingly light. They collect agricultural statistics; prepare small cases for the petty sessions. Two await the arrival of every train, and two others watch with interest its departure. They have bicycles, dogs, and a boat for fishing."

This extravagant and unnecessary expenditure extends into every branch of government. The Lord Lieutenant and his household cost about £40,000 a year. The smallest details of local government are controlled by the Imperial Parliament; even the county road authorities are practically appointed by the British Government, not by the ratepayers whose money they spend. The assessment for rates is made by an imperial instead of a local authority, as in the rest of the United Kingdom. The same extravagance appears in the civil establishments. There are "boards" for every conceivable purpose, with from three to five highly paid Commissioners at their head. In England one chief suffices, and he is responsible to Parliament, and can explain or defend his action there, while Irish Commissioners are in most cases under the Treasury, and unamenable to public opinion. With all this waste of the revenue it is difficult to get money for such objects as education and the development of the resources of the country. The simple conclusion, Mr. Lough points out, is that "Ireland is a nation starved in the midst of plenty." We strongly recommend any one interested in the Irish question to read this interesting book.

A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom. By Andrew Dickson White. 2 vols. D. Appleton & Co. 1896.

MR. WHITE'S book, a development of his 'Warfare of Science,' is a conscientious summary of the body of learning to which it relates, accumulated during long years of research. He puts the whole in a narrative form by taking a number of the chief departments of science, natural history, chemistry, astronomy, geography, geology, therapeutics, hygiene, and philology, and telling the story which shows how each one had to be freed, by the patient toil and sacrifices of generations of students and martyrs, from the shackles of theologic and theocratic error; how the constant struggle of the Christian Church through centuries was to stifle knowledge, and how only within the lifetime of those now living has it at length yielded the field. The book is produced as a

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sort of *Festschrift*, or tribute to Cornell University, one of the first institutions in the world dedicated primarily to pure science—a foundation which at once proved the means of fanning into a cheerful but harmless glow, for the benefit of a few local and belated friends of bigotry, the dying flames of theologic hate.

Perhaps the most remarkable chapter in the book is the first, in which Mr. White gives an account of the substitution for the original theologic view of the universe, as created by acts such as might be attributed to a human being endowed with superhuman power, of the theory of evolution, ending with natural selection, and the triumph of the Darwinian explanation of the origin of species. The account is not only instructive, but in part entertaining. Darwin's 'Origin of Species' was published in 1859, and was received by the religious world with a chorus of disapproval at once fierce and grotesque. The doctrine, they said, of evolution of the higher from the lower type was untrue, contrary to religion, and absurd on its face. The Bishop of Oxford declared that Darwin had tried to "limit God's glory in creation," and that natural selection was "absolutely incompatible with the Word of God." A clerical reviewer suggested that it would have been more modest in Darwin "had he given some slight reason for dissenting from the views generally entertained." A distinguished clergyman, vice-president of an institution founded for the pious purpose of combating "dangerous" science, declared Darwinism "an attempt to dethrone God." Mgr. Ségur declared of his teachings that "they come from hell," and the Pope said that they were opposed "even to Reason herself." At Cambridge, Whewell, himself a scientific man, refused to allow a copy of the book to be placed in the library; at the American college at Beirut "nearly all the younger professors were dismissed for adhering to Darwin's views"; Dr. Woodrow, for professing belief in them, was turned out of the Presbyterian seminary at Columbia, and Dr. Winchell had to leave Vanderbilt University. And all this took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Considerable additions would be needed to make Mr. White's narrative complete. The whole subject of government, for instance, as a branch of study, has been emancipated from theological conceptions within very recent times. The book is mainly confined to natural science; but the subject of interest and usury is gone into, which is not a question of natural science at all. On the whole, these volumes must be consulted chiefly for facts, not exposition. No attempt is made to explain the process by which modern conceptions of science and modern methods of investigation have driven theology off. Among the facts collected, Mr. White does not fail to notice the curious evidence tending to show that many of the great modern discoveries of science seem to have suggested themselves to the Greeks, and then to have lain dormant for centuries, to be brought to notice again only after Greek, Roman, and mediæval civilization had in turn been swept away. Curiously enough, the same thing is true of political science. Aristotle is its father, but, after he had classified governments under the three heads which still roughly answer our purpose, substantially nothing was done until the seventeenth century.

The only criticism which we shall venture to offer of a work which is a monument of industry, is that Mr. White seems to us to make a mistake in thinking that he is called upon to offer any suggestions as to the reconciliation to be effected now between science and religion. That is the task which the persecuted followers of truth were compelled to undertake for many centuries at the peril of their lives. Galileo was called upon to justify science; Grotius was called upon to defend toleration of the pursuit of knowledge. But that day has gone by. It is science which is established now, and, if there is to be a reconciliation, it is religious truth which must justify itself. Science proves, Mr. White tells us, the ascent of man, not his fall. To say that the Bible is a "revelation" of the ascent of man, as he also does, is to indulge in a metaphor which, in his mouth, tends to confuse rather than enlighten.

Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages: A Study of the Conditions of the Production and Distribution of Literature from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Close of the Seventeenth Century. By George Haven Putnam, A.M. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1896. Vol. I., A. D. 476-1600. 8vo, pp. xxvii, 459.

THIS continuation of Mr. Putnam's book on 'Authors and their Public in Ancient Times' begins with a description of the production of books after the downfall of the Western Empire. It is full of curious information concerning book-making arts in monasteries, which were first made a clerical duty in Italy by Cassiodorus and S. Benedict, during the sixth century. The rule of S. Ferreol, written about this time, says, "He who does not turn up the earth with the plough, ought to write parchment with the fingers." Nuns were also required to copy, and some were in distinction as illuminators. "Scriptoria" were soon established in Germany, France, Holland, and Ireland. England seems to have been slow to practise book-making arts, for it was at the close of the seventh century before the monasteries at Wearmouth and Yarrow became centres of a transient literary activity. Then followed the establishment of libraries outside of monasteries, the education of copyists who were not ecclesiastics, and the distinct business of selling manuscript books When the early Italian universities drew many pupils to them, dealers in books, *stationarii* and *librarii*, flocked around their courts. In the thirteenth century there were enough of them in some of the larger cities to give names to the districts in which they made their sales. Ave Maria Lane, Pater Noster Row, Amen Corner, in London, indicate that these early booksellers made petty book sales as well as big ones, and that they had dealings with common people as often as with scholars. In the Latin Quarter of Paris as well as in the vicinity of Italian universities, the booksellers were kept under restraint, which compelled some of the number to seek for buyers in places where trade was more free.

Just before the invention of typography, the copyists of Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, aided by illuminators and decorative book-printers, had organized corporations for the better practice of their trades. Book-making in its highest achievements was deservedly rated as one of the fine arts, for it had enlisted the services of famous painters. The desire for a fine book like the "Grimani" breviary or the "Hereford Missal" was as common among men of wealth and taste as the desire for fine pictures. But books like these, usually made to order for princes and nobles, could not be considered subjects of trade. A trade in cheap books was maintained, not only in the small shops of cities, but at markets and annual fairs. Beginning with the sale of devotional pictures and little books of colored pictures, some with and some without explanatory text, soon to be engraved on wood and printed from the blocks, a way was being paved for the invention of printing from types. To these humble forerunners of the type-printed book our author gives too little consideration.

His notice of the invention of typography is obviously intended to be complete and impartial. He follows Humphreys in the belief that Koster was the printer of the first book edition of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and also the printer of the 'Speculum Humanæ Salvationis.' No diligent student of the invention of typography can accept Humphreys as an authority. He was a zealous compiler and a praiseworthy maker of fine books of facsimiles, but not an original investigator or exact thinker, careless in the sifting of evidence and inexact as to dates and facts. It is a surprise, too, to note in Mr. Putnam's book the omission of the names and works of recent authors who have been diligent investigators of this subject. Nearly three hundred books are specified as the mines from which he derives information, but one does not see in this long list the names of Holtrop or Hessels, Weigel, Zestermann, or Van der Linde. The information furnished by these authors is of importance, and should have been utilized.

The first printers were not scholars, nor even the professional book-makers attached to the universities. They seem to have been mechanics and traders who took up the new art as a more expeditious and profitable method of book-making. They imitated as closely as they could the style or form of letters most used by scribes, and followed their leadership in issuing the books that promised to be most salable. These books, classical or theological, and in the Latin language, soon overstocked the market, and the prices of printed books fell rapidly. There was some opposition to printing by the copyists and engravers, but only from those of the lower class. Scribes, and the collectors of fine manuscript books during the last half of the fifteenth century, however, had great contempt for all forms of printed books. Many librarians boasted that they did not have one on their shelves. This dislike was most general in Italy. At first the clergy looked with tolerance or indifference on the spread of printing. When printers found that the market for the classics and dogmatic theology was being overstocked, they began to print books in the vernacular that were salable to common people. This provoked the censure and restraint of the Church. There was also no small complaint on the part of printers against each other, caused by the piratical reprinting of books. The interference of the law was frequently solicited. In this restraint our author traces the origin of copyright law, a subject in which he is at home.

The services rendered to the world by printer-publishers like Aldus, the Étiennes, Froben, and others, are described by Mr. Putnam with clearness and force. Yet they were exceptions. Much bad printing was done at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the introduction to his 'Adagia' Erasmus writes as follows:

"Formerly there was devoted to the correctness of a literary manuscript as much care and attention as to the writing of a notarial instrument. Such care and precision was held to be a sacred duty. Later, the copying of manuscripts was entrusted to ignorant monks, and even to women. But how much more serious is the evil that can be brought about by a careless printer, and yet to this matter the law

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gives no heed. A dealer who sells English stuffs under the guise of Venetian is punished, but the printer who, in place of correct texts, misleads and abuses the reader with pages the contents of which are an actual trial and torment, escapes unharmed. It is for this reason that Germany is plagued with so many books that are deformed [*i. e.*, untrustworthy]. The authorities will supervise, with arbitrary regulations, the proper methods for the baking of bread, but concern themselves not at all as to the correctness of the work of the printers, although the influence of bad typography is far more injurious than that of bad bread."

Evolution and Man's Place in Nature. By Henry C. Calderwood. Macmillan. 1895. 8vo, pp. 349.

WE have here a discussion and summary of the biological additions to our knowledge of man, together with a revision, in the light of modern evolution, of man as recognized by metaphysicians and theologians. Prof. Calderwood's writings are always interesting and thought-inspiring, even if not at all times convincing. His present subject enlists his greatest earnestness and vigor. The book will be less favorably regarded by scientists than by those interested in harmonizing evolution, in its recent developments, with theology or philosophy. The review of the development and status of the physical man is fair, though marked by occasional indefiniteness or indirectness, due in part, at least, to Mr. Calderwood's lack of familiarity with the facts on which the reasoning is based. In dealing with his own observations this might not have been the case; but when stating that Darwin or another has said this or that, he raises a question whether he fully understood his authority—whether the latter interpreted the facts rightly, or may not have had incorrect ideas of discoveries by another who in turn might have mistaken. Our author is skilful, but his references in support of his position have not the force of personal observation, and they at times weaken the argument so that when impossibility of determination is announced to be a consequent, the impression given is more of a dearth of information than of insurmountability to science.

In the metaphysical portions the work is more satisfactory. The position of the author, and in some degree the lines of discussion, may be suggested by stating his belief that animal intelligence is not rational, that instinct is a matter of structure and belongs to sensory apparatus, and that he recognizes a power, beyond scientific observation, which is ever in operation and which has manifested itself at the most impressive periods of the world's history—first at the appearance of organic life, again on the appearance of mind, and again on the advent of rational life; a first cause; an eternal personality, related to the spiritual life of rational souls as to no other known type of existence. This raises the question whether the origin of our world was one of the less impressive periods, or a manifestation of a different power.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Allen, Grant. The Duchess of Powysland. American Publishers Corporation. $1.
Browne, Montagu. Artistic and Scientific Taxidermy and Modelling. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. $6.50.
Crocker, U. H. The Cause of Hard Times. Revised ed. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
Dutton, A. V. Wisdom's Folly: A Study in Feminine Development. Henry Holt & Co. $1.
Evans, E. P. Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture. Henry Holt & Co $2.
Flint, Martha B. Early Long Island: A Colonial Study. Putnams. $3.50.
Grant, Robert. The North Shore of Massachusetts. Scribners. 75c.
Hadley, Prof. A. F. Economics: An Account of the Relations between Private Property and Public Welfare. Putnams. $2.50.
Johnes, Winifred. Memoirs of a Little Girl. Transatlantic Publishing Co. 15c.
Kendall, Phebe M. Maria Mitchell: Life, Letters and Journals. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $2.
Lucy, H. W. A Diary of the Home Rule Parliament. 1892-1895. Cassell. $2.
Mabie, H. W. Essays on Nature and Culture. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
Norris, W. E. St. Ann's. Cassell. 50c.
Oliphant, Mrs Jeanne D'Arc, her Life and Death. Putnams. $1.50.
Paget, R. L. McKinley's Masterpieces. Boston: Joseph Knight Co. 75c.
Roosevelt, Theodore. The Winning of the West. Vol. IV. Louisiana and the Northwest. 1791-1807. Putnams. $2.50.
Snow, Florence Z. The Lamp of Gold. Chicago: Way & Williams. $1.25.
Taylor, Prof. J. R. The Captives of Plautus. Boston: Raymond A. Robbins. 50c.
Track Athletics in Detail. Harpers. $1.25.

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Amount		$11,374,560 11

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